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L I V Y

BOOKS XXI, XXII, XXIII

*TATHAM*

London  
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE  
AMEN CORNER, E.C.



Clarendon Press Series

L I V Y

BOOKS XXI, XXII, AND XXIII

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

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Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1886

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## PREFACE.

THE text of Livy given in this book is that of Madvig's edition of 1880.

In writing the notes I have obtained valuable help from Weissenborn's Livy, and also Mr. Capes' Livy (Books XXI. and XXII.), works intended for scholars more advanced than those to whom my own notes are likely to be of service. I am indebted to Mr. Evelyn Abbott of Balliol College for many kind suggestions made as the work was passing through the Press. Other obligations have been acknowledged in the notes themselves.

My object throughout my explanations has been to make it fairly easy for the reader to translate Livy, and to get a clear knowledge of the history of the period, and I have also done my best to interest him both in the Romans and their language.

I have avoided philological notes, and to my grammatical explanations I have preferred to give a popular rather than a technical character, often explaining difficult constructions by what I have called a literal rendering, though I have been obliged to use the word 'literally' in a somewhat wide sense. An absolutely literal translation of a Latin passage would often be at least as difficult to understand as the passage which it professed to explain.

WESTMINSTER : *November*, 1885.



## INTRODUCTION.

Urbs antiqua fuit—Tyrii tenuere coloni—  
Carthago.

CARTHAGE is supposed to have been founded by Dido, or Elissa, a princess of Tyre, about B.C. 850, according to Timaeus in B.C. 814. It was undoubtedly an ancient Phoenician colony at the time when we first hear of it in connection with Rome; and, though not the oldest Phoenician settlement in the West, it soon became by far the most important, so that at the time of the First Punic War we find Carthage the capital of a vast African empire, which stretched from the Greater Syrtis to the Atlantic Ocean, mistress of the Balearic islands and Sardinia, and exercising a suzerainty over various Tyrian settlements in the South of Spain. In Sicily she held the old Phoenician Colonies in the West, and it was chiefly the resistance of Syracuse which prevented her from annexing the whole of the island.

The Carthaginians were strictly a nation of traders, such as the Phoenicians had ever been, but Carthage had been forced by circumstances to become an imperial city, as the champion against the Greeks of the rights of the Phoenicians to trade and colonise in the western part of the Mediterranean. She could produce brave soldiers and good generals, but the nation as a whole was averse to the sacrifice of material comfort in the interests of even a necessary war. This fact, an important one in estimating the powers of Carthage as compared with those of Rome, is disproved neither by the splendid military qualities of Hamilcar and his sons, nor by the energy of despair which the Cartha-

ginians showed in the Third Punic War, when they did their utmost to avert destruction from their city.

Before passing on to the events which led to the First Punic War, it may be well to give some account of the Carthaginian constitution. The supreme magistrates of the State were two kings (Sufetes) elected by the people, and the supreme council was a 'senate' or Council of Elders. But the real power lay with another body, the Council of One Hundred and Four, who had been originally appointed as a check upon the kings and powerful members of the Senate, but had changed from a popular to an anti-popular element in the commonwealth, forming an exclusive nobility, as it were, of members chosen by co-optation and practically chosen for life. The whole subject, however, is an obscure one. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, describes the Carthaginian government as an oligarchy, the claim of the rulers to power being based, he says, as much on wealth as on birth or merit. Indeed, he tells us that the highest offices, those of king and general, had to be 'bought,' in other words, obtained by bribery. Nevertheless, the Carthage of his day (he died fifty-eight years before the outbreak of the First Punic War) had a constitution of which Aristotle approved.

About the year 281 B.C. some Campanian mercenaries who had served under Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, against the Carthaginians, now that their employer was dead and that they were left to their own resources, treacherously seized Messana, killed or expelled the adult males, and made themselves masters of their wives, children, and property. Against the Mamertines, as these free-booters called themselves, Hiero of Syracuse led a Syracusan army, defeated them, and shut them up in their city (B.C. 270). It was after this victory over the Mamertines that Hiero received the title of King.

When the siege had already lasted some years, the Mamertines sought help from Rome. But there was a strong

party among them who had opened negotiations with Carthage, and a Punic garrison already held the citadel of Messana, when the Romans determined to send an army under the Consul, Appius Claudius, to help the Mamertines, lest Carthage should get possession of the place, and thus obtain the mastery over all Sicily. The Romans had no justification for their conduct, the Mamertines were mere criminals, and what is more, Italian criminals, and only seven years before the Romans had themselves exterminated a garrison of 4000 Campanians which had been placed by them in Rhegium and had betrayed its trust by following the example of the Mamertines (B.C. 271). But there was no temptation to condone the offence of the Campanians in Rhegium.

As soon as the Mamertines knew that help was coming from Rome, they turned out the Carthaginian garrison, whereupon Hiero made an alliance with Carthage. So now there was war between Rome and the Mamertines against Syracuse and the Carthaginians, a war which is called by Polybius 'the war about Sicily,' and by Livy 'the First Punic War' (B.C. 264). There is no need to give here a history of the war. At first the Romans were successful, and in the second year of the war, Hiero went over to their side. The war lasted twenty-two years with varying fortune; and at last, when both nations were worn out, the Romans, who for nearly five years, dispirited by terrible losses in battle and from storms, had not put a fleet on the sea, built, equipped, and manned a navy of two hundred quinqueremes, which, under the command of C. Lutatius Catulus, won a victory which put an end to the war. Catulus defeated Hanno, who had been sent to relieve Drepanum, at the Aegates Insulae, and made it impossible for the Carthaginians to hold Sicily. Hamilcar Barca (Barak, i.e. Lightning), who had held Mount Ercte for three, and Mount Eryx for two years against the Romans, and had prevented them while Carthage was still powerful at sea from making any progress in the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepanum, had now, unconquered as he

was, to abandon his position, and make peace with Rome (B. C. 242). The terms agreed upon were, that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily, promise not to make war on Syracuse or her allies, restore all the prisoners of war, and pay in twenty years a war indemnity of 2200 Euboic talents to the Romans. A proviso was added, 'if the Roman people shall approve.' The Roman people did not approve altogether, and next year (B.C. 241) sent ten commissioners, among whom were C. Lutatius and his brother, consul for the year, who concluded peace with the Carthaginians on slightly harder terms. They were to pay 3200 talents in ten years, and were to abandon, besides Sicily, all the islands lying between Sicily and Italy. The treaty also stipulated that Carthage should not make war on the allies of Rome, or Rome on the allies of Carthage.

But Carthage was not yet to have rest from war. The mercenaries who had served in Sicily, finding that the Government was not likely to make good to them their arrears in pay, broke into open revolt, in which they were joined by the African subjects of Carthage. The promises that the rebels extorted from the government they now regarded as new signs of weakness, or as perfidious, and felt that no terms could be made unless they could reduce Carthage to submission. The mercenaries in Sardinia followed their example, killed all the Carthaginians in the island, proceeded to hold it for themselves, and invited the Romans to join them. This the Romans very properly refused to do, but subsequently, when the mutineers had been expelled by the natives, and Carthage, though victorious over her rebels at home through the able generalship of Hamilcar, was terribly weakened by the two wars, they could no longer resist the temptation, and in B.C. 238 they prepared to annex Sardinia. The Carthaginians remonstrated and even made some preparations for recovering the island. The Romans answered that Carthage was preparing to make war on them, and that they therefore declared war against Carthage. They would grant peace only on her agree-



ing to pay an additional indemnity of 1200 talents, and they kept Sardinia. Rightly might Hamilcar think 'Sardiniam . . . fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam' (21. 1. 5). That same year (B.C. 238) Hamilcar crossed over into Spain with an army. Before he started he offered sacrifice to Melkarth, and after the sacrifice he asked his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years, if he would go with him. The child entreated his father to take him. Then Hamilcar led him up to the altar, and made him put his hand on the sacrifice, and swear that he would never be a friend to Rome. This promise he faithfully kept.

For about nine years Hamilcar fought and intrigued in Spain. He fell in battle, and his command passed to Hasdrubal, his son-in-law and admiral. Hasdrubal, more by diplomacy than force of arms, still further advanced the Carthaginian empire in Spain (founding New Carthage as its capital), so that in B.C. 228 the Romans, who were now preparing to give all their energies to crushing the Italian Gauls, made a treaty with him to the effect that the Ebro should be the limit to Carthaginian progress in Spain. Seven years afterwards Hasdrubal was assassinated by a Spaniard. His brother-in-law, Hannibal, succeeded him, and immediately began the campaigns which were to end in the capture of Saguntum. This, Hannibal knew, must force the Romans to declare war, as that city, though on the Carthaginian side of the Ebro, had been taken under the protection of Rome.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.

- 242. Victory of the Romans at the Aegates Insulae, and close of the First Punic War.
- 241. Terms of peace settled between Hamilcar and the Roman commissioners.  
Beginning of the war between Carthage and the Mercenaries.
- 238. Annexation of Sardinia by the Romans.  
End of the war with the Mercenaries.  
Hamilcar goes to Spain.
- 229. Death of Hamilcar. Hasdrubal succeeds him.
- 228. Treaty between Hasdrubal and the Romans. \*
- 221. Death of Hasdrubal. Hannibal succeeds him.
- 219. Hannibal takes Saguntum.
- 218. Hannibal crosses the Alps.  
Battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
- 217. Battle of L. Trasimenus.  
Q. Fabius Maximus appointed Pro-Dictator.  
Comparatively uneventful warfare.
- 216. Eight legions sent against Hannibal.  
Battle of Cannae.  
The Capuans and a great part of lower Italy go over to Hannibal.  
M. Claudius Marcellus is practically invested with the supreme command against Hannibal.  
Hannibal winters at Capua.
- 215. The consuls Sempronius Gracchus and Fabius Maximus, with Marcellus as pro-consul, carry on the war against Hannibal.  
Hannibal makes an alliance with the King of Macedon.  
Successes of the Scipios in Spain.



## EXCURSUS.

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### ON LIVY'S LATIN<sup>1</sup>.

WE recognise an author's style not so much by his frequent use of certain words, or his repetition of a favourite construction, as by the characteristic rhythm of his sentences, which, like the tone of a voice, can be felt and imitated, though it cannot be described.

The beauty of Livy's style speaks for itself. It has its blemishes no doubt; Livy is strongly rhetorical, and he therefore often exaggerates and strives too much after effect; his periods are at times overwrought, being longer and more involved than a purer taste would approve, while in some passages his meaning is obscured by an artificial subordination of the main idea. This, however, is the exception, and, as far as *style* is concerned, there are few writers who can be compared with him.

On the other hand it is possible to observe in Livy's *Latin*<sup>2</sup> some signs of decadence from the pure language of Cicero and Caesar. Allowance should of course be made for the nature of Livy's subject. The Romans themselves considered that history ought to differ in its language from the other forms of prose by approaching more nearly to poetry. Cicero did not write history,

<sup>1</sup> Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Tite-Live. Riemann.

Also, Titi Livii Libri xxi et xxii, and Tit. Liv. Lib. xxiii et xxiv. Fabri.

<sup>2</sup> The critic Asinius Pollio, who perhaps only tolerated anything that was not of pure Roman growth ('Pollio amat nostram, *quamvis est rustica*, Musam,' says the Mantuan Virgil), professed to detect in Livy's Latin a tinge of provincialism, or 'Patavinity,' as he called it, from our author's birthplace Patavium. But if the defect exists it is not to be discovered by a modern critic.

and Caesar, though a purist in matters of Latinity, was not likely to care for poetical embellishments. Nevertheless there are several points in which our author's language makes an approach to that of the Silver Age. A list is subjoined of the main peculiarities of Livy's Latin which occur in Books xxi-xxiii.

First as to the use of words.

#### SUBSTANTIVES.

Livy uses abstract substantives for concrete more often than Cicero or Caesar, but less often than Tacitus. Instances in these books are :—

Aptae instructaeque *remigio* . . . quinqueres erant, 21. 22. 4.

Praemissis, qui . . . Alpium . . . *transitus* specularentur, 21. 23. 1.

Baliares locat ante signa ac levem *armaturam*, 21. 55. 2.

Qui ad *transitum* saltus insidendum locati erant, 22. 17. 4.

Ea *paucitate* vix castra . . . tutari poterat, 22. 24. 9.

Ab tumultuario *auxilio* iam etiam castra Romana terreri, 22. 45. 4.

Satis multis ut ex tanta *paucitate* interfectis, 23. 18. 6.

Livy uses more freely than the earlier prose writers the singulars *miles*, *pedes*, *hostis*, *Romanus*, *Poenus*, *Samnis*, etc., in a collective sense instead of the plurals, e. g.

Abundabat multitudine hominum *Poenus*, 21. 8. 3.

Hannibal, quia fessum *militem* proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit, 21. 11. 3.

Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque *miles*, stipendia facerent, 21. 21. 11.

Fugientem hunc ipsum *hostem* secutus, 21. 40. 2.

Delige centenos viros ex omni *pedite* atque *equite*, 21. 54. 2.

*Milite* atque *equite* scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum, 22. 37. 7.

Nec Numida Hispano *eques* par fuit, nec *iaculator* Maurus caetrato, 23. 26. 11.

Hinc *Poenus*, hinc *Afer* urget, 23. 29. 10.

Vetus *miles tironi*, liber *voloni* sese exaequari sineret, 23. 35. 7.

What is still more peculiar about Livy's usage on this point is that he often couples the collective singular with the plural, or contrasts them, e.g.

*Poen*o cepisse iam se urbem . . . credente, *Saguntinis* . . . corpora opponentibus, 21. 8. 8.

Socii duplicem numerum *equitum* darent, *peditis* aequarent, 22. 36. 3.

*Militi* ac *navalibus sociis*, 23. 21. 2.

The use of substantives for adjectives by Livy (e.g. cum foederum *ruptore* duce ac populo, 21. 40. 11; and pugnabit cum exercitu *tirone*, 21. 43. 14) cannot be said to be a departure from the ordinary classical usage.

#### ADJECTIVES.

Livy makes frequent use of neuter adjectives and participles in the plural as substantives describing places, e.g.

Inter confragosa *omnia* praeruptaque, 21. 32. 9.

Per invia *pleraque*, 21. 35. 4.

*Omnibus* ultra castra transque montes exploratis, 22. 43. 7.

He also makes very free use of neuter adjectives and participles as substantives followed by a partitive genitive, e.g.

*Mediterranea* Galliae, 21. 31. 2.

*Extrema* agminis, 21. 34. 7.

*Extremum* periculi, 21. 34. 8.

Agminis *medium*, 22. 2. 3.

#### PRONOUNS.

The use of *alius* in the sense of ὁ ἄλλος ('the rest,' 'besides') is frequent in Livy as compared with earlier prose Latin, e.g.

Ubi *alia* vincantur, 21. 12. 6.

Et *alius* exercitus . . . quiete unius diei reficitur, 21. 27. 6.

Ut pro signis antesignani, post signa *alia* pugnaret acies, 22. 5. 7.

Supra quinquaginta millia captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda *alia* militi concessa, 23. 37. 13.

The use of *quicunque* (without a verb, e.g. *Quamcunque* conditionem paciscendi acceperunt, 22. 58. 5) is more common in Livy than in Cicero.

The same is true of *qualiscunque*, *quantuscunque*, etc.

#### VERBS.

Livy uses transitive verbs in an intransitive sense more freely than the earlier prose writers.

Two cases must be distinguished.

(a) He uses transitive verbs in a *quasi-reflexive* sense, e.g.

Omnibus satis comparatis ad *traiciendum*, 21. 27. 1.

Ad vindices futuros *declinant*, 21. 52. 6.

Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe . . . in Africam *transmisit*, 22. 31. 1.

(β) He uses them in an *absolute* sense, e.g.

*Colunt* autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani, 21. 26. 6.

Quum omnes victi metu *permitterent*, 23. 2. 8.

Livy uses frequently the auxiliaries *fuero*, *fuero*, *fuisse*, and especially *fuero*, instead of the more correct *ero*, *sim*, *essem*, and *eram*, e.g.

Actaque etiam res in senatu *fuerat*, 21. 3. 2.

Qui ad Trasumenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique *fuerant*, 22. 13. 2.

Paulus quanquam . . . funda graviter ictus *fuerat*, 22. 49. 1.

Quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti *fuerimus*, 22. 59. 11.

Neque enim . . . senatus lectus *fuerat*, 23. 22. 3.

Una etiam (urbs) ab ipsis capta vi *fuerat*, 23. 26. 5.

Notice also the frequent use of *forem* in Livy.

#### ADVERBS.

Livy uses *adhuc* (which strictly means 'up till now') of past time, where Cicero would use '*etiam tum*,' e.g.

Quanquam gravis *adhuc* vulnere erat, 21. 48. 3.

Utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis *adhuc* viribus, fluctuatus animo *fuerat*, 23. 33. 3.



He uses *ceterum* (primarily 'for the rest') where Cicero would use *sed*, e. g.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, *ceterum* iam belli causa, 21. 6. 1.

*Ceterum* haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior, 21. 18. 4.

*Ceterum* magis constat, ratibus traictos, 21. 28. 6.

*Ceterum* ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, . . . sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque, 22. 50. 2.

*Ceterum* malis artibus nactus opes, 23. 2. 2.

*Ceterum* postquam . . . Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, omissa petit Nuceriam, 23. 15. 2.

Livy makes free use of adverbs or adverbial expressions as adjectives, e. g.

Quam *cetera circa*, 21. 7. 5.

Quum . . . *circa omnia* hostium essent, 21. 11. 12.

Quia vi subactos *trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos* fama erat, 21. 24. 2.

Per *invia circa*, 21. 36. 4.

Per nudam *infra glaciem*, 21. 36. 6.

*Circa Arpos et Luceriam* . . . *regionem*, 22. 9. 5.

Quo iam tanquam *trans Hiberum agro*, Poenis concessum sit, 22. 25. 7.

*Praedam ex agris*, 23. 1. 6.

Farre ex *agris circa* undique convecto, 23. 19. 8.

Quum *omnia circa* strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, 23. 40. 10.

Secondly as to peculiarities of construction :—

#### THE CASES OF THE NOUN.

A bold use of the nominative in very slight grammatical connection with the rest of the sentence is sometimes found in Livy, e. g.

Is *adolescentia ferox temere proelio inito* fusus fugatusque, 23. 40. 4. A corresponding construction of the accusative in 'oratio obliqua' is found in 22. 34. 10. Id consules, *ambos* ad exerci-

tum *morando*, quæsisse. And for a somewhat similar use of the nominative see 22. 31. 7; (cf. 23. 24. 6).

### THE ACCUSATIVE.

'The Accusative of respect,' common in Greek, occurs in Livy as it does in poetical and colloquial Latin; whereas it is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

*Adversum femur* tragula . . . ictus, 21. 7. 10.

*Cetera* tereti, 21. 8. 10.

Livy uses the Accusative after *tremere* and *parvere* in the following passages:—

*Virgas ac secures* dictatoris *tremere* atque horrere, 22. 27. 3.

*Nec Samnitem modo hostem, sed etiam Sidicinum parventes*, 23. 5. 8.

The usage is perhaps poetical, though the construction of *horrere* with an accusative is quite common in Latin.

Also he uses the Accusative after some verbs which in Cicero or Caesar would be followed by a preposition, e. g.

*Invadere*, 21. 30. 2; and 23. 18. 1.

*Evadere*, 21. 32. 13.

*Insidere*, 21. 54. 3.

*Succedere*, 22. 28. 12.

### THE GENITIVE.

The use of a partitive genitive depending on neuter adjectives is, as has been mentioned above, very frequent in Livy (though rare in prose before his time), e. g.

*Immensum altitudinis*, 21. 33. 7.

*Aestatis reliquum*, 22. 15. 1.

*Exiguum spatii*, 22. 24. 8.

*Ad multum diei*, 22. 45. 1; and 23. 16. 10.

Livy also makes a partitive genitive depend on a positive adjective, a construction not found in Cicero or Caesar.

*Delecti equitum*, 22. 15. 10.

*Circumfusus militum*, 22. 30. 2.

The use of 'the genitive of apposition' is noticeable in Livy, e.g.  
 Alpes . . . quarum alterum latus *Italiae* sit, 21. 30. 5.  
 Duas prope partes *tironum militum* in exercitu esse, 22. 41. 5.

## THE DATIVE.

Livy uses the dative after verbs compounded with prepositions in many cases where earlier prose writers would have preferred to repeat the preposition, e. g.

*Levi* . . . *armaturae* hostium incurrere, 22. 17. 6.

*Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo* . . . intulere, 23. 24. 11.

## THE ABLATIVE.

Livy is very free in his use of the ablative without a preposition, e. g.

Omne herbarum . . . genus *aggeribus* infimis muri eruerent, 23. 19. 13 (where 'ab' or 'ex aggeribus' would be more usual); and also in the use of the ablative of place without a preposition, e. g.

*Nebula campo* quam *montibus* densior sederat, 22. 4. 6.

Notice also his frequent use of ablatives in an adverbial sense, e. g.

Id . . . enixe, *favore* etiam vulgi et *studio* visendi tot iam victoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est, 23. 7. 9.

Itaque *eruptione* e castris pugnatum est, 23. 49. 8.

Especially common in Livy is the use of the neuter past participle as an impersonal ablative absolute,

(a) Without a subject, e.g.

Nondum *palamfacto*, 22. 55. 3 (though here an explanatory clause may be supplied).

Ante *explorato* et subsidiis positis . . . ad populandum ducebat, 23. 42. 9.

(β) With a whole clause as its subject, e.g.

*Latoque*, ut solet, ad populum ut equum escendere liceret, 23. 14. 2.

It may be mentioned here that the use of the ablative of the gerund instead of a present participle agreeing with the subject of the sentence, and without any instrumental force, is much more common in Livy than in Cicero, e. g.

Qui modo, Saguntum oppugnari *indignando*, . . . foedera et Deos ciebamur, 22. 14. 7.

*Laniando* dentibus hostem exspirasset, 22. 51. 9. (See note on the last passage.)

The older prose writers avoided making a deponent participle in the ablative absolute govern a case.

But in Livy we find such phrases as :—

P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se *partitis copias*, 23. 26. 2. Cicero would have written ‘Cum P. et Cn. Scipiones copias inter se partiti essent.’

*Transgresso Vulturum* Fabio, 23. 39. 5.

#### VERBS.

The use of a plural verb with a singular collective noun is remarkably frequent in Livy, e. g.

Iuventus delecta . . . *obsistebant*, 21. 7. 7.

Ea maxima pars volonum *erant*, 23. 35. 6.

The use of the perfect subjunctive in consecutive clauses, where strict usage would require the imperfect, is very usual in Livy, e. g.

Adeoque (nix) pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola . . . tutamentum *fuert*, 21. 61. 10.

Adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris *intermissum sit*, 22. 56. 4.

Adeo haud dubia victoria fuit, ut plures numero, quam ipsi erant, Romani hostium *occiderint*, *ceperint* amplius tria millia hominum, etc., 23. 49. 10, 11.

One of the most curious points in Livy’s syntax is his use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive to express the idea of repetition after relative pronouns or conjunctions, where the older writers use the indicative, e. g.

*Ubi* quid fortiter ac strenue agendum *esset*, 21. 4. 4.

*Ubi* vero *dimicarent*, 21. 42. 4.

*Sicubi* *conserta* navis *esset*, 21. 50. 3.

*Quantum* usus necessarii *cogerent*, 22. 12. 8.

*Ubi* *fervida* *mollissent* aqua, 23. 19. 13.

The use of the infinitive after the following words is remarkable:—

*Occupare*, 21. 39. 10.

*Supersedere*, 21. 40. 1.

*Impellere*, 22. 6. 6.

*Sustinere*, 23. 9. 7 (end of section).

*Obstinare*, 23. 29. 7.

The construction of *non dubito* and like expressions with an accusative and infinitive is very common in Livy, e. g.

*Neque enim dubitabant* . . . *hostem ad oppugnandam Romam* . . . *venturum*, 22. 55. 2.

Still the construction with *quin* will be found in 21. 3. 1; ib. 36. 4; and 22. 39. 15, and is the more usual of the two. In Cicero the construction with the infinitive is very rare.

The free use of the future participle by Livy is a marked departure from the usage of the earlier writers, e. g.

*Cum*, *perfecto Africo bello*, *exercitum eo traiecturus* *sacrificaret*, 21. 1. 4.

Often it marks an intention, e. g.

*Ad castra hostium venerat nullam dimicandi moram facturum*, 21. 32. 1. (See also 'occursurus' ib. § 2.)

*Genuam repetit eo*, *qui circa Padum erat exercitus*, *Italiam defensurus*, 21. 32. 5.

See also ib. 32. 10; 61. 1.

Sometimes, as in Greek, it is used for a conditional clause, e. g.

(*Bellum*) *mansurum* . . . *in visceribus reipublicae*, *si plures Fabios imperatores haberet*, . . . *se perfecturum*, 22. 38. 7.

*An dedituris* *se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praesidium?* 23. 44. 2.

## CONJUNCTIONS.

The irregular use (so common in Tacitus) of different copulative conjunctions to couple words on the same footing begins to show itself in Livy, e. g.

Ilergetes . . . *Bargusiosque et Ausetanos*, 21. 23. 2.

Marsos . . . *Marrucinosque et Pelignos*, 22. 9. 5.

Ab Hasdrubale *at Magone et Hannibale*, 23. 49. 5.

Livy's habit of coupling words grammatically unlike by copulative conjunctions is worthy of notice, e.g.

Quos Poenus benigne *allocutus* et spe ingentium donorum *accensos* . . . dimisit, 21. 48. 2.

*Simul castris praesidio et circumspectans*, 22. 23. 10.

Et *perfugis multa indicantibus* et per suos *explorantem*, 22. 28. 1.

Magis *verecundia* . . . quam satis *fidens* exercitui, 23. 36. 8.

In all these cases the strictly grammatical form of expression would doubtless have been preferred by Cicero.

## PREPOSITIONS.

Livy often puts *a*, *ab* with the names of towns contrary to classical usage, e. g.

Interim *ab* Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est, 21. 9. 3.

*A* Casino, 23. 17. 7.

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THE MEANING OF VARIOUS SYMBOLS, ETC.,  
USED IN THE TEXT.

1. Words or parts of words are printed *in Italics* when they have been supplied by conjecture.

2. Words are enclosed in *square brackets* when, though occurring in the MSS., they appear not to have been written by Livy.

3. *Asterisks* (\* \*) mean that words have been lost.

4. An *obelus* (†) means that the word or words which follow it are corrupt.

# TITI LIVII LIBRI XXI-XXIII.

## LIBER XXI.

§ 1. *The Hannibalic War was perhaps the greatest in the history of the world,* § 2. *among other reasons,* § 3. *on account of the bitterness felt on each side.* § 4. *On the Carthaginian side HANNIBAL had in boyhood sworn eternal enmity to the Romans at the bidding of his father HAMILCAR,* § 5. *who chafed at the loss of Sicily and Sardinia,* **Ch. 1.**

IN parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem annorum ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, quum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo traiecturus

sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris, iure iurando adactum, se, quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

Ch. 2. §§ 1, 2. *and who would certainly, if he had lived, himself have begun the Second Punic War.* §§ 3, 4. *Hamilcar's son-in-law, Hasdrubal, succeeded him as commander in Spain.* § 5. *and still further advanced the power of Carthage.* § 6. *He was at last assassinated by a Spaniard.* § 7. *The Romans, however, had been glad to make a treaty with Hasdrubal to set bounds to the advance of the Carthaginians.*

1 His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret, maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae illaturos fuisse, quae Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

3 Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, 4 uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate 5 principum, in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitium magis regulum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis 6 rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit; barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab



eo domini obtruncat; comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque quum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

§ 1. *Hasdrubal was succeeded by Hannibal, § 2. who was in Spain Ch. 3. at the time, §§ 3-6. having gone there originally in spite of Hanno and his followers at Carthage, who were opposed to Hamilcar and his party.*

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, \*\* favor plebis sequebatur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, 2 actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus, ut assuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, 'Et aequum 3 postulare videtur' inquit 'Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.' Quum admiratione tam 4 ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, 'Florem aetatis' inquit 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum prae-buit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento assuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc time- 5 mus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictis exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub 6

legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.'

**Ch. 4.** § 1. *However Hanno's party were in a minority. §§ 1-9. In Spain Hannibal was from the first popular with the troops, but became still more popular afterwards from his splendid qualities, which, however, were marred by great defects. § 10. For three years he learnt under Hasdrubal the business of a great general.*

- 1 Pauci, ac ferme optimus quisque, Hannoni assentie-  
bantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.  
Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu
- 2 omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem  
redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem  
in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamenta-  
intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum mo-
- 3 mentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam in-  
genium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque impe-  
randum, habilis fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres,
- 4 utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Has-  
drubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid  
fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce
- 5 plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula  
capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat.  
Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat.
- 6 Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desi-  
derio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum
- 7 somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; id,  
quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque  
molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari  
sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationes-
- 8 que militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales  
excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum

peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas 9 viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum 10 hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quae agenda videntur, magno futuro duci esset, praetermissa.

§§ 1, 2. *And immediately on his appointment began to have designs on Saguntum.* §§ 3, 4. *First he subdued the Olcades and other states,* §§ 5, 6. *and next year he attacked the Vaccaei with success,* §§ 7-12. *but had some difficulty with the Carpetani,* §§ 13-17. *whom, however, he subdued, thus bringing nearly all Spain beyond the Ebro under Carthaginian rule.* **Ch. 5.**

Ceterum, ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei 1 provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus 3 oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem opulentam, caput 4 gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu percussae minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium acceperunt. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam 5 stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum 6

urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine op-  
7 pidanorum diu defensa; ab Hermandica profugi exsulibus  
Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, quum se iunxis-  
8 sent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibalem regres-  
sum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine, agmen grave  
9 praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinuit, castrisque  
super ripam positis, quum prima quies silentiumque ab  
hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit, valloque ita producto,  
ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere  
10 eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus praecepit, ut, quum  
ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur impeditum agmen;  
in ripa elephantos (quadraginta autem erant) disponit.  
11 Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorum-  
que centum millia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur  
12 campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et,  
quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam  
rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine  
ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt.  
13 Et ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen  
immissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine  
14 concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens  
vel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset,  
eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites  
15 stabili, cominus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna  
flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostes  
16 ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus  
in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione quum in  
unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pavore reciperent  
animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus  
fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris, intra paucos dies  
17 Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit; et iam omnia  
trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

§§ 1, 2. *Then he picked a quarrel with the Saguntines, and they sent to Rome for help.* §§ 3-5. *But soon the news came that the siege of Saguntum was begun.* §§ 6-8. *Ambassadors were sent to tell Hannibal to desist. If he refused, they were to make their complaints at Carthage.* Ch. 6.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam 1 belli causa. Certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum adesset idem, qui litis erat 2 sator, nec certamen iuris, sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant 3 P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui quum, legatis in senatum introductis, de re publica rettulis- sent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, 4 et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius 5 Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus 6 Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant, qui non temere moven- 7 dam rem tantam expectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit, 8 legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.

Ch. 7. §§ 1-5. *Meanwhile the siege was conducted with vigour, §§ 6-9. but with little success. § 10. Hannibal himself received a wound,*

1 Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum  
 2 summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima  
 ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari.  
 Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab  
 3 Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas  
 brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fruc-  
 tibus seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinae sancti-  
 tate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam  
 4 coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, per-  
 5 vastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito aggreditur. Angu-  
 lus muri erat in planiorem patientioremque, quam cetera  
 circa, vallem vergens; adversus eum vineas agere instituit,  
 6 per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus  
 procul muro satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudqua-  
 quam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est,  
 7 coeptis succedebat. Et turris ingens imminebat, et murus,  
 ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emu-  
 nitus erat, et iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac  
 8 timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo  
 missilibus summovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum  
 munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo  
 atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in sta-  
 9 tiones operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis  
 certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam  
 10 Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius  
 subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta  
 circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin  
 opera ac vineae desererentur.

§ 1. *which for a time stopped active operations,* §§ 2-4. *but only* Ch. 8.  
*for a time.* § 5. *A large breach was made,* §§ 6-9. *but*  
*still the Saguntines held their ground,* §§ 10-12. *doing great*  
*execution by means of fire-bearing javelins ;*

Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppug- 1  
natio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus  
ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac  
munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro 2  
coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipien-  
tibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admo-  
verique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; 3  
(ad centum quinquaginta millia habuisse in armis satis  
creditur;) oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda 4  
multifariam distineri coepti non sufficebant. Itaque iam 5  
feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes  
erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres  
deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fra-  
gore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina 6  
crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus  
texisset, ita utrinque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil 7  
tumultuariæ pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationi-  
bus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent,  
sed iustae acies, velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri  
tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant.  
Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat, Poeno cepisse 8  
iam se urbem, si paulum annitatur, credente, Saguntinis  
pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec  
ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem  
immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et conferti magis utrinque 9  
pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter arma cor-  
poraque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis 10  
missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti praeterquam

ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo,  
 11 quadratum stупpa circumligabant linebantque pice; fer-  
 rum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis  
 transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi haesis-  
 set in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat,  
 12 quod, quum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque  
 ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti coge-  
 bat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.

Ch. 9. §§ 1, 2. *and at last driving the enemy back through the breach.*  
 § 3. *At this juncture the Roman ambassadors arrived, but*  
*Hannibal would not receive them.* § 4. *And knowing that*  
*they would now go to Carthage he wrote to prepare his par-*  
*tisans.*

1 Quum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia  
 praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus, quia  
 2 non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani  
 tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impedi-  
 tum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatum-  
 que in castra redigunt.

3 Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus  
 obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent, nec tuto  
 eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec  
 Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes  
 4 audire. Apparebat, non admissos protinus Carthaginem  
 ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis  
 Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne  
 quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset.

Ch. 10. § 1. *Consequently they were unsuccessful,* § 2. *though supported*  
*by Hanno,* §§ 3-13. *who pointed out the evils of a war with*  
*Rome which was the inevitable result of the action of Hannibal.*

1 Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea  
 2 quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus ad-



versus senatum causam foederis magis silentio propter auctoritatem quam cum assensu audientium egit, per deos 3 foederum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitant bellum; monuisse, praedixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec unquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. 'Iuvenem flagrantem 4 cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes, ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri 5 circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones, ducibus iisdem dis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit; ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcantur, pulsi, ad nos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, quum 7 coeperint, vereor, ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegates insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec 8 puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstineramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus; vicerunt 9 ergo di homines et, id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc 10 Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia

- quatit ariete. Sagunti ruinae (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo  
 11 Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem  
 12 tanquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaue eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civi-  
 13 tatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant; alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducatur, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legionem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.'

Ch. 11. § 1. *Hanno's speech had no effect,* § 2. *and the Roman ambassadors were told that the Saguntines were in the wrong.* §§ 3-5. *Meanwhile, after a few days of preparation,* §§ 6, 7. *the attack was resumed.* §§ 8, 9. *A new breach was made,* § 10. *and a strong position within the city occupied.* §§ 11-13. *After this the city was being taken piecemeal.*

- 1 Quum Hannoperorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit; adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam  
 2 Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.  
 3 Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habe-

bat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit; ut vero pro contione praedam 4 captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliis quietem habuerant 5 nec lacescentes nec lacesciti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatione eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante 6 adorta est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, quum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia muni- 7 menta urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae quum admota, catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum 8 Hannibal occasionem ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit; nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto, structurae antiquae genere. Itaque latius, 9 quam qua caederetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque 10 editum capiunt, collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminem haberent, muro circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrunque summa vi et 11 muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium 12 longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio externae opis, quum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit 13

repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus, metum defectionis quum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

**Ch. 12.** §§ 1-3. *The work of destruction was still going on when some unofficial negotiations were started. §§ 4, 5. First by Alco, a Saguntine, who came to Hannibal but did not dare to report the terms he offered. §§ 6, 7. And afterwards by Alorcus, one of Hannibal's soldiers, who offered to go back instead of Alco. § 8. He was admitted to audience by the Senate of Saguntum,*

- 1 Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio (eum praefecerat Hannibal) ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent.
- 2 Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus ali-
- 3 quantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrinque caede initum et pars arcis capta est.
- 4 Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, quum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum
- 5 affirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis
- 6 ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, affirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis,

ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito 7  
palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus munimenta  
ad praetorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita iubebat) est deduc-  
tus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis generis homi- 8  
num esset factus, summota cetera multitudine, senatus  
Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

*and indicated the terms offered by Hannibal.*

Ch. 13.

‘Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad 1  
Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad  
vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo  
nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed 2  
quum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem  
(sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos  
vera referentibus), ego, ne ignoraretis, esse aliquas et  
salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio,  
quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa 3  
me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea  
fides sit, quod neque, dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque,  
dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos  
mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla 4  
est spes nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis  
defendunt, pacem afferro ad vos magis necessariam quam  
aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemadmodum 5  
ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis et non id,  
quod amittitur, in damno, quum omnia victoris sint, sed,  
quicquid relinquitur, pro munere habituri estis. Urbem 6  
vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam  
habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum assignaturus, in quo  
novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne,  
publicum privatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, 7  
coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si

inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire.

- 8 Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quanquam sunt gravia  
atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem  
haud despero, quum omnium potestas ei facta sit, ali-  
9 quid ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec pa-  
tienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi  
trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure  
sinatis.'

Ch. 14. § 1. *The nobles were struck with despair, and began to destroy their property and their lives. §§ 2-4. In the midst of the confusion, Hannibal, by a vigorous attack, took the city, and put all the men to the sword.*

- 1 Ad haec audienda quum circumfusa paulatim multi-  
tudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente  
primores, secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur,  
argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum  
collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum coniicientes,  
2 eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Quum ex eo  
pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper  
tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat,  
perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto quum  
signum imperatori dedisset, nudatam stationibus custo-  
3 diisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in  
tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus  
urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes in-  
terficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope  
4 necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est; cui enim parci  
potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis  
domos super se ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum  
ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?

§§ 1, 2. *The city was considerable.* § 3. *The account which* **Ch. 15.**  
*makes the siege of Saguntum take eight months,* §§ 4, 5.  
*annot be reconciled with the account that makes it begin in the*  
*consulship of Scipio and Sempronius,* § 6. *who were un-*  
*doubtedly consuls at the time of the battle of Trebia.*

Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quanquam 1  
 pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in  
 caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat, et captivi  
 militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum vendit- 2  
 arum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et  
 multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam Car-  
 thaginem.

Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum 3  
 Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam  
 in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde  
 mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam per-  
 venisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius, 4  
 Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio  
 oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo  
 magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem,  
 ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut 5  
 omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio  
 anni, quo P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt,  
 non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam exces- 6  
 sisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C.  
 Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consul-  
 atum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post  
 pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam quum  
 venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

§ 1. *On hearing of the fall of Saguntum,* §§ 2-6. *the Senate was* **Ch. 16.**  
*struck with consternation at the danger that now threatened the*  
*existence of Rome.*

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Car- 1

thagine, Romam rettulerunt, omnia hostilia esse, et  
 2 Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror  
 patres misericordiaeque sociorum peremptorum indigne et  
 pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque  
 de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset,  
 ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent  
 3 magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem  
 bellicosioremq; secum congressum, nec rem Romanam  
 4 tam desidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos  
 Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis  
 quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumul-  
 5 tuatum verius quam belligeratum; Poenum hostem  
 veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima  
 inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo  
 assuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis,  
 Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum  
 6 populos; conciturnum avidas semper armorum Gallicas  
 gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac  
 pro moenibus Romanis esse.

Ch. 17. § 1. *The consuls were at once appointed to their provinces, §§ 2, 3. and large forces were raised. § 4. It was decreed to declare war, and public prayers were offered for its success. §§ 5-9. The forces were divided between the two consuls, and the praetor L. Manlius, who was to go to Gaul.*

1 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant; tum  
 sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum  
 2 Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et  
 socium, quantum ipsis videretur, et classis, quanta parari  
 3 posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum  
 millia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quad-  
 raginta millia peditum, quattuor millia et quadringenti  
 equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces



viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iube- 4  
rent populo Carthaginensi bellum indici; eiusque belli  
causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati di, ut  
bene ac feliciter eveniret, quod bellum populus Romanus  
iussisset. Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio 5  
datae legiones duae (ea quaterna millia erant peditum et  
trecenti equites) et sociorum sedecim millia peditum,  
equites mille octingenti; naves longae centum sexaginta,  
celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque 6  
copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam  
transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter  
satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. 7  
Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio in  
Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime Cornelio numerus 8  
deminutus; sexaginta quinqueremes datae (neque enim  
mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem  
credebant) et duae Romanae lēgiones cum suo iusto  
equitatu et quattuordecim millibus sociorum peditum,  
equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanas et 9  
decem millia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios,  
sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in  
Punicum bellum habuit.

§§ 1-3. *Ambassadors were then sent to Carthage with Rome's Ch. 18.*  
*ultimatum.* §§ 4-11. *The Carthaginians contended that Sa-*  
*gunum was not protected by any treaty except Hasdruba's,*  
*which Carthage had never ratified,* §§ 12, 13. *but that if*  
*Rome wanted to have war they were quite ready to accept it.*  
§ 14. *War was accordingly declared.*

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, 1  
legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Aemi-  
lium, C. Licinium, Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad  
percontandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Han-

2 nibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi vide-  
bantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum,  
3 ut indicerent populo Carthaginensi bellum. Romani  
postquam Carthaginem venerunt, quum senatus datus  
esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod man-  
datum erat, percontatus esset, tum ex Carthaginensibus  
4 unus :<sup>o</sup> 'Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit,  
quum Hannibalem tanquam suo consilio Saguntum op-  
pugnantem deposcebatis ; ceterum haec legatio verbis  
5 adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et  
insimulabatur et deposcebatur ; nunc ab nobis et con-  
fessio culpa exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo  
6 repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio  
Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quaerendum censeam, sed  
7 utrum iure an iniuria ; nostra enim haec quaestio atque  
animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo  
fecerit arbitrio ; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne  
8 per foedus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid  
publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant,  
nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum,  
in quo quum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Sagun-  
9 tinis (necdum enim erant socii vestri) cautum est. At  
enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Sagun-  
tini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum,  
10 nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius  
consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque auctori-  
tate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos  
eo teneri ; itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio  
11 ictum est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex  
auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Has-  
drubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit.  
12 Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere,

et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.' Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, 'Hic' inquit 'vobis 13 bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet, sumite.' Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet, succlamatum est; et quum is iterum, sinu effuso, bellum 14 dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

§ 1. *Indeed diplomatic discussions would have been futile now, Ch. 19.*

§§ 2, 3. *although it is certain that the treaty with Hasdrubal was valid enough, §§ 4, 5. and further that the case of Saguntum was provided for by an earlier treaty. § 6. The Roman envoys then went to Spain. § 7. Excepting the Bargusii §§ 8–11. every tribe was hostile to them. They therefore passed on to Gaul,*

Haec directa percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex 1 dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, quum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus 2 Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, quum in Lutatii foedere diserte 3 additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quanquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum 4 erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis; nam neque additum erat 'iis, qui tunc essent,' nec, 'ne qui postea assumerentur.' Et quum assumere novos liceret socios, 5 quis aequum censeret, aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur?

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae im- 6

peratum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et in societatem pellicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt.

7 Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum

8 populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio

9 respondit: 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginensium amicitiae praeponamus, quum, qui id fecerunt, crudelius, quam Poenus hostis

10 perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaeratis socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae

11 erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.' Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi, ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrata Hispania, in Galliam transeunt.

Ch. 20. §§ 1-6. *where they met with nothing but discouragement, §§ 7, 8. except, of course, from their old allies the people of Marseilles. From them they learnt that Hannibal had won over the Gauls by bribes. § 9. They then returned to Rome.*

1 † In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati

2 (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Quum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno bellum Italiae in-

3 ferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus

4 maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolidi impudensque postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id advertere in se agrosque

5 suos pro alienis populandos obiicere. Sedato tandem

fremitu, responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque, nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum, quam Massiliam venire. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore (adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse), ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratibus Hispaniae et Galliae populis, legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post, quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama, iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

§§ 1-4. *Hannibal, learning at New Carthage that war had been declared, after a few words of encouragement to his Spanish troops, § 5-8. allowed them to go home on furlough for the winter. They returned at the beginning of spring. § 9. Hannibal, after reviewing his troops, made a journey to Gades, to pray for the success of the war. §§ 10-13. He then took the precaution of garrisoning Africa with Spanish, and Spain with African troops.* **Ch. 21.**

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum, sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites convocat. 'Credo ego vos' inquit, 'socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis, aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse aut in alias

4 terras transferendum bellum ; ita enim hae gentes non  
pacis solum, sed etiam victoriae bonis floreant, si ex aliis  
5 gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus. Itaque quum  
longinqua a domo instet militia incertumque sit, quando  
domos vestras, et quae cuique ibi cara sunt, visuri sitis, si  
6 quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do. Primo  
vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis  
7 gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.' Omnibus fere  
visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam  
desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus  
8 desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores  
aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit cor-  
pora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda ; vere primo  
ad edictum convenere.

9 Hannibal quum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia,  
Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat  
10 votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas  
simul *in* inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse  
terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret,  
nuda apertaue Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido  
11 praesidio firmare eam statuit ; pro eo supplementum ipse  
ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut  
Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo  
futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneribus obligati,  
12 stipendia facerent. Tredecim millia octingentos quin-  
quaginta pedites caetratos misit in Africam et funditores  
Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis  
13 gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini  
praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul  
conquisitoribus in civitates missis, quattuor millia con-  
scripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides,  
duci Carthaginem iubet.

§§ 1-4. *Spain was put under the command of Hasdrubal.* § 5. Ch. 22.  
*After returning to head-quarters, Hannibal marched to the Ebro.* §§ 6-9. *Here in a dream he was told that Heaven sent him to be the devastator of Italy; but the issue of the struggle was not revealed.*

Neque Hispaniam negligendam ratus, atque id eo minus, 1  
 quod haud ignarus erat, circumitam ab Romanis eam  
 legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali 2  
 fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque  
 eam Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim  
 millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis,  
 Baliaribus *quingentis*. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi 3  
 equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus,  
 quadringenti *quinquaginta* et Numidae Maurique accolae  
 Oceani ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex  
 Hispania, trecenti equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset  
 auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis praeterea 4  
 data tuendae maritimae orae, quia, qua parte belli vice-  
 rant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat,  
 quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes  
 quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae  
 quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; 5  
 atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum  
 maritima ora ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo 6  
 iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in  
 Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque  
 usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam 7  
 circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura  
 ingenii humani quum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere  
 vetitus esset, agitare animo, temperare oculis nequivisse;  
 tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum 8  
 ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri, ac post insequi

9 cum fragore caeli nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quaerentem audisse, vastitatem Italiae esse; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

Ch. 23. § 1. *Hannibal then crossed the Ebro with 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse. §§ 2, 3. He subdued the region south of the Pyrenees, and left a force under Hanno to guard it and the passes. § 4. While crossing the Pyrenees 3000 of the Carpetani deserted. §§ 5-6. Whereupon Hannibal sent home 7000 more of his troops from motives of policy.*

1 Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit, praemis-  
 missis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus  
 erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur.  
 Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum Hi-  
 2 berum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos  
 et Lacetaniam, quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est,  
 subegit, oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut  
 fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt, in potestate essent.  
 3 Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae  
 4 regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaeum  
 saltum traduci exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per bar-  
 baros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria millia inde  
 Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat, non  
 tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inexcuperabilique  
 5 Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere  
 eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irrita-  
 6 rentur, supra septem millia hominum domos remisit, quos  
 et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se  
 dimissos simulans.

Ch. 24. § 1. *On halting at Iliberri § 2. Hannibal found that the Gauls were prepared to resist him at Ruscino; §§ 3-5. but by kind words and presents he managed to conciliate them.*

1 Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum



reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quanquam Italiae bellum 2 inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram 3 magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle; [et] vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus faciliore esset; nam et accepturum 4 eos in castra sua se laetum nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum; hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli 5 Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

§§ 1, 2. *Meanwhile in Cisalpine Gaul the Boii revolted from Rome, Ch. 25. being disgusted at the founding of colonies there. §§ 3-5. They attacked the Roman commissioners (or as some say the Roman ambassadors), who fled to Mutina, § 6. where they were besieged, § 7. until they were at last treacherously captured. §§ 8-10. Manlius marching incautiously to relieve Mutina, lost numbers of his troops. §§ 11, 12. After a second time suffering heavy loss § 13. he reached Tannetum, § 14. where he was able to hold out*

In Italiam interim nihil ultra, quam Hiberum transisse 1 Hannibalem, a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, quum, perinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boii sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis, 3

in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffusi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumpho viros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinae quum obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis assideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi; evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra ius modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Quum haec de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant, plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitat, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refectioni sunt militum animi, quanquam ad *quingentos* cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evaserent. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum,

vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento 14  
ad tempus com meatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum  
etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies mul-  
titudinem hostium tutabantur.

§§ 1, 2. *until reinforced from Rome.* § 3. *Meanwhile Scipio sailed* Ch. 26.  
*to Massilia,* § 4. *encamped at the mouth of the Rhone,* § 5.  
*and sent some troops to reconnoitre.* § 6. *Hannibal had, how-*  
*ever, arrived at the Rhone, and, though its further bank was*  
*held by a hostile tribe,* §§ 7-9. *he made preparations for*  
*crossing.*

Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et 1  
Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt,  
C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque 2  
millibus sociorum, dilectu novo a consule conscriptis,  
auxilium ferre Manlio iubent; qui sine ullo certamine  
(abscesserant enim metu hostes) Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore 3  
erat, scripta legione nova, profectus ab urbe sexaginta  
longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde  
Salyum montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum 4  
ostium Rhodani (pluribus enim divisus annis in mare  
decurrit) castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem  
superasse Pyrenaeos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quo- 5  
que transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco  
occurreret. necdum satis reffectis ab iactatione maritima  
militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Mas-  
siliensibus et auxiliariis Gallis ad exploranda omnia  
visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal, ceteris 6  
metu aut pretio pacatis, iam in Volcarum pervenerat  
agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque  
ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi, citeriore agro arceri Poenum  
posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme

suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis  
 7 obtinebant. Ceteros accolae fluminis Hannibal et eorum  
 ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenuerant, simul pellicit donis ad  
 naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi  
 traici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam  
 8 tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens  
 coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem  
 usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes  
 9 cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites, simul  
 copia materiae, simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos in-  
 formes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera  
 possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaue transveherent,  
 faciebant.

Ch. 27. §§ 1-3. *In order to draw off the hostile Gauls, he sent a detachment to take them in the rear.* §§ 4-6. *The detachment crossed the Rhone at a point further up,* §§ 7-9. *and at a signal from them Hannibal at once began to cross.*

1 Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum, ter-  
 rebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique  
 2 obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris  
 filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime  
 3 Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi  
 primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni, circum-  
 ducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo  
 4 hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia  
 quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circum-  
 fusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto  
 5 alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia  
 ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera  
 traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis  
 coniectis, ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen trana-  
 6 vere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris

prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito 7 fumo significant, transisse et haud procul abesse; quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes 8 lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat; equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus 9 trahebantur, praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.

§§ 1, 2. *On landing the troops were attacked; but the Gauls soon* Ch. 28.  
*wavered,* § 3. *when the attack in their rear* § 4. *com-*  
*pletely routed them, and the rest of the army crossed undisturbed.*  
 § 5. *How the elephants crossed is not certain.* § 6. *According*  
*to the best accounts* §§ 7-9. *they were enticed on to a disguised*  
*raft which was then quickly towed across, the process being*  
*repeated until all had crossed.* §§ 10-12. *The terror and*  
*confusion of the animals was great.*

Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque 1 moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quanquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium 2 cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo 3 adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati 4 pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt,

trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

- 5 Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo; certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam [nantem] sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam  
6 rapiente. Ceterum magis constat, ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius  
7 est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur.  
8 Altera ratis aequae lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephantum per stabilem ratem tanquam viam, praegredientibus feminis,  
9 acti ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur; ita primis  
10 expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac traieci sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, quum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum  
11 raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem  
12 ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles, deiectis rectoribus, quaerendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.

§ 1. *Meanwhile a reconnoitring party of cavalry sent by Hannibal* Ch. 29.  
 § 2. *met the party sent by Scipio, and a sharp skirmish took place,*  
 § 3. *in which the Romans had the advantage though their loss was large.*  
 § 4. *Thus the first engagement was typical of the whole war.*  
 §§ 5, 6. *Further conflict was prevented by Hannibal's deciding to proceed on his march.*  
 § 7. *Seeing his troops out of spirits,*

Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas 1  
 equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum,  
 ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae 2  
 equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani  
 trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius  
 quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa 3  
 vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrinque fuit, fugaque et  
 pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam  
 dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani,  
 sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc 4  
 principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum pros-  
 perum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque cer-  
 taminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec 5  
 Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coep-  
 tisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem in- 6  
 certum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum  
 eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus  
 consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum  
 regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios  
 periculi fore affirmantes, integro bello, nusquam ante libatis  
 viribus Italiam aggrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat 7  
 quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris  
 belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique  
 inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

**Ch. 30.** §§ 1, 2. *he told them that the conquerors of Spain* §§ 3-6. *must not let their ardour be damped by any fear of the Alps,* §§ 7-11. *mere mountains that ought not to check brave veterans in their march upon Rome.*

1 Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere  
 ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione, varie militum  
 2 versat animos castigando adhortandoque: Mirari se, qui-  
 nam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. \*  
 Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante  
 Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae,  
 quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium  
 3 essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum  
 obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus  
 Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Roma-  
 4 norum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini  
 visum id longum, quum ab occasu solis ad exortus  
 5 intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem  
 itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocis-  
 simas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot  
 millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius  
 fluminis vi, traiectionem, in conspectu Alpes habeant, qua-  
 6 rum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatis-  
 gatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam  
 7 montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis;  
 nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexcuper-  
 abiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli,  
 gignere atque alere animantes; pervias fauces esse exerci-  
 8 tibus. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis  
 sublime elatos Alpes transgressos. Ne maiores quidem  
 eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas  
 Alpes ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniu-  
 9 gibus, migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem



armato, nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus 10 quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae 11 adiri posse Poenus desperet; proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

§§ 1-3. *Next day Hannibal marched inland to avoid the Romans.* Ch. 31.

§ 4. *He came to the Island.* §§ 5, 6. *Finding the Allobroges in a state of faction,* § 7. *by a wise decision* § 8. *he earned from them substantial gratitude.* §§ 9-11. *The torrent-like Druance was crossed with difficulty.*

His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad 1 iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa 2 Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rector ad Alpes via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in 3 Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhoda- 4 nusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, 5 gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambige- 6 bant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis 7 peropportuna disceptatio quum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque

8 sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit. Ob id meritum  
 commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est  
 adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari coge-  
 9 bant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum quum  
 iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad  
 laevam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram  
 Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam im-  
 10 pedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is  
 et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum  
 difficillimus transitu est; nam quum aquae vim vehât  
 11 ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis  
 coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens,  
 nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti  
 quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens,  
 12 nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet; et tum forte  
 imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum  
 fecit, quum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque  
 incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

**Ch. 32.** § 1. *Scipio, finding that Hannibal had gone, § 2. resolved to oppose him on the other side of the Alps. §§ 3, 4. So, leaving the greater part of his army with his brother, § 5. he sailed for Genoa. §§ 6, 7. Hannibal's troops found the Alps even worse than they had expected. § 8. As soon as they began the ascent the natives opposed them. §§ 9-13. But Hannibal was able to seize the heights with some picked troops.*

1 P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hannibal a  
 ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium  
 2 venerat, nullam dimicandi moram factururus; ceterum ubi  
 deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos assecu-  
 turum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita  
 3 descendentem ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen  
 nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam

sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos<sup>4</sup> tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum<sup>5</sup> admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo, qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad<sup>6</sup> Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quanquam fama prius, qua incerta in<sup>7</sup> maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos<sup>8</sup> agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad visenda<sup>9</sup> loca praemissis, postquam comperit, transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos,<sup>10</sup> haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, quum se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus, interdum tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdum vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam<sup>11</sup> quod parabatur, consumpto, quum eodem, quo constituerant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum degressos<sup>12</sup> tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte

13 peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumultis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

1. 33. §§ 1, 2. *Thus the Carthaginians were able to advance.* §§ 3-7. *Still the active highlanders annoyed the troops as they marched, and threw them into confusion,* §§ 8-10. *until Hannibal charged down and put them to flight.* § 11. *He afterwards took their capital.*

1 Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum  
2 incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad  
stationem solitam conveniebant, quum repente conspiciunt  
alios, arce occupata sua, super caput imminentes, alios  
3 via transire hostes. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis  
animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut  
trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri  
4 agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quicquid adiecis-  
sent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, per diversis  
5 rupibus iuxta invia ac devia assueti decurrunt. Tum vero  
simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni  
oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente,  
ut periculo primus evaderet, quam cum hostibus certa-  
6 minis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui  
et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam percussaeque  
valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vul-  
nerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul  
7 hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; multos-  
que turba, quum praecipites deruptaeque utrinque angustiae  
essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et arma-  
tos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus  
8 devolvebantur. Quae quanquam foeda visu erant, stetit  
parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum  
9 ac trepidationem augetet; deinde, postquam interrumpi

agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, quum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento 10 temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius 11 regionis erat, viculosque circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et, quia nec montanis primo percussis nec loco magno opere impediabantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

§ 1. *The next tribe to whom they came* §§ 2, 3. *pretended to be friendly.* §§ 4, 5. *Hannibal accepted all they offered, but kept on the alert;* § 6. *with good reason, for a treacherous attack* §§ 7, 8. *brought the army into extreme danger,* § 9. *and it was only after great difficulties* **Ch. 34.**

Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut 1 inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno 2 natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque obedienter 3 imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec 4 temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne quum respondiisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen 5 elephantum et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus omnia incedebat. Ubi in angustiore 6 viam et parte altera subiectam iugo insuper im-

minenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari, a fronte, ab tergo coorti, cominus, eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat.

- 7 In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est; nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo  
9 auxilii reliquerat, occurrentes per obliqua montani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

Ch. 35. § 1. *that the Carthaginians got rid of their assailants.* § 2. *After this the attacks were more desultory,* § 3. *and the elephants proved a great protection.* § 4. *At last the summit of the pass was reached.* § 5. *Here they halted two days.* §§ 6, 7. *They were discouraged by a fall of snow,* §§ 8, 9. *but Hannibal told them Italy was near.* § 10. *In the descent they had very little trouble from the natives,* §§ 11, 12. *but a great deal from the steepness of the slopes.*

- 1 Postero die, iam segnius intercurtantibus barbaris, iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen  
2 iumentorum quam hominum perniciem, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum, modo in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent.  
3 Elephantum sicut per artas praecipitesque vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacunque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebant.  
4 Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi

fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumenta-  
 aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum  
 nivis etiam casus, occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta quum, signis prima luce motis, segniter agmen incederet, pigritia-  
 que et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus 8 signa Hannibal in promuntorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam  
 ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae  
 modo, sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput  
 Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva  
 furta per occasionem tentantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat (ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia  
 sicut breviora, ita arrectiora sunt), difficilius fuit; omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque  
 sustinere se a lapsu possent nec, qui paulum titubassent, haerere affixi vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta  
 in homines succiderent.

§§ 1-3. *At last they came to a point where a landslip had carried away the path.* Ch. 36.  
 §§ 4-8. *Here, after they had vainly tried to cross the treacherous ice-slope above the precipice,*

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiores rupes atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles tentabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus

3 erat. Ibi quum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent  
 miranti Hannibali, quæ res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur,  
 4 rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum  
 visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec  
 trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen.  
 5 Ea vero via inexcusable fuit; nam quum super veterem  
 nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec  
 6 praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero  
 tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per  
 nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis  
 7 ingrediebantur. Tætra ibi luctatio erat, [ut a] lubrica  
 glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes  
 fallente, ut, seu manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adiu-  
 vissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec  
 stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam  
 eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque  
 8 nive volutabantur. Iumenta scababant interdum etiam in-  
 firmam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius  
 in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque  
 velut pedica capta haerent in dura et alte concreta  
 glacie.

Ch. 37. § 1. *a halt had to be made,* § 2. *and a way cut through the rock.*  
*After heating it, and dissolving it in places with vinegar,* § 3.  
*they were able to bring tools to work upon it, and made a zigzag*  
*path down the cliff.* § 4. *This took four days, during which*  
*the horses were nearly starved.* § 5. *But on reaching the*  
*lower valleys* § 6. *the horses could get fodder and all could*  
*get rest.*

- 1 Tandem, nequicquam iumentis atque hominibus fati-  
 gatis, castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco  
 purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.
- 2 Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse  
 poterat, milites ducti, quum caedendum esset saxum,



arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio 3 rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, iumentis 4 prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles 5 apricosque etiam colles habent rivosque et prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum 6 missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum, iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

§ 1. *Thus Hannibal reached Italy* §§ 2-5. *with an army whose numbers have been variously estimated.* §§ 6-9. *There is also a difference of opinion about his route.* **Ch. 38.**

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto 1 mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2 transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui 3 captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime me auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta millia peditum, decem equi- 4 tum adducta; (in Italia magis affluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt;) ex ipso autem audisse Hanni- 5 bale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semigalli proxima gens

6 erat in Italiam degresso. Id quum inter omnes constet,  
 eo magis miror ambigi, quam Alpes transierit, et vulgo  
 credere, Poenino (atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium  
 7 inditum) transgressum, Caelium per Cremonis iugum  
 dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos,  
 sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.  
 8 Nec veri simile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera;  
 utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaepta gentibus  
 9 Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si  
 quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni  
 Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen ferunt inditum, sed ab  
 eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani  
 appellant.

**Ch. 39.** §§ 1, 2. *The need of rest prevented Hannibal from joining the Insubres in their war against the Taurini.* § 3. *Meanwhile Scipio landed and marched with his new troops to attack the enemy before they had recovered their strength.* § 4. *He reached Placentia too late for this,* § 5. *though his presence kept the Gauls loyal to Rome.* § 6. *Hannibal also advanced,* §§ 7-9. *and an encounter between these two great generals was imminent.* § 10. *Scipio was the first to cross the Po. He encamped by the Ticinus and there addressed his troops, telling them*

1 Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae  
 genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare  
 exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in  
 reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non  
 2 poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex  
 illuvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie  
 3 movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, quum Pisas  
 navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto  
 tirone et in novis ignominiiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi,  
 4 ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed

quum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; *et* iunxisset sibi non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate 5 Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal 6 movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in 7 conspectu erant exercitus convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam et Hannibalis apud 8 Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, 9 quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, *Hannibal* et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectum. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum 10 traicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

§§ 1-3. *that, as they were not his old soldiers,* §§ 4, 5. *there was* Ch. 40.  
*need to remind them of the issue of the first Punic War,*  
 §§ 6-11. *of the hopeless nature of Hannibal's present enterprise,*  
*of the terrible losses he had suffered in the Alps, and the*  
*miserable condition of the survivors.*

‘Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem 1 in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum 2 hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detrectantis certamen

- 3 pro victoria habui? Nunc quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae  
provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis  
auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque  
4 Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Han-  
nibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario  
certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca  
5 verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignore-  
tis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra  
marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per  
viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia  
6 Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc cer-  
tamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse  
solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est,  
7 pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pug-  
nam detrectavere, eos, duabus partibus peditum equi-  
tumque in transitu Alpium amissis, [quum plures paene  
8 perierint quam supersint,] plus spei nactos esse. At enim  
pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque,  
quorum robor ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit.  
9 Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie,  
squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque;  
ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida  
gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi.  
10 Cum hoc equite, cum hoc peditate pugnaturi estis; reliquias  
extremas hostium, non hostem habetis, ac nihil magis  
vereor quam ne, quum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse  
11 Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum  
foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla  
humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui  
secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum  
conficere.

§§ 1-5. *Scipio then pointed out that he might have earned cheaper laurels against Hasdrubal in Spain, but had chosen to pursue Hannibal, §§ 6, 7. and had very good hopes of success. §§ 8-13. The conquered Carthaginians were foolish and ungrateful to begin a new war with Rome. §§ 13-17. Nevertheless it was all-important that Hannibal should be promptly crushed.* Ch. 41.

Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa 1  
magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum  
esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam 2  
profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem  
consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdru-  
balem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud  
dubie molem belli; tamen, quum praeterveherer navibus 3  
Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus,  
praemisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri 4  
proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna  
data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum  
fugientium raptim agebatur, quia assequi terra non  
poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxima potui celeritate,  
tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus prope  
Alpium huic timendo hosti obviui fui. Utrum, quum 5  
declinare certamen, improvidus incidisse videor an  
occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad  
decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Car- 6  
thaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint,  
qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce  
duodevicens denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Han- 7  
nibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an  
vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a  
patre relictus. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare, 8  
respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe  
patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus 9

ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedere Sicilia, qui stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes.

11 Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere; veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, quum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc

14 vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur,

15 sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint praesidia; hic est obstandum, milites, velut si

16 ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus

17 senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.'

Ch. 42. §§ 1-3. *Meanwhile Hannibal shewed his troops, by means of combats between his captives, § 4. that death is the only tolerable alternative for victory.*

1 Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius

quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis, interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Quum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et 2 deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, et, *ut* cuiusque sors ex- 3 ciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero 4 dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

§ 1. *He then said,* §§ 2-4. *That they must learn to apply the* Ch. 43.  
*lesson to themselves,* § 5. *and resolve to conquer or to die.*  
 §§ 5-10. *If they conquered they would at last win the reward*  
*of their long campaigns.* § 11. *War with Rome was not so*  
*bad as it sounded.* §§ 12-18. *They must consider the difference*  
*between the generals*

Quum sic aliquot spectatis paribus affectos dimisisset, 1 contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur.

‘Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo 2 ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio, an maiora vincula maioresque necessi- 3 tates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effu- 4 gium quidem navem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior [Padus] ac violentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum 5

aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis quidem immortalibus optare solent.

6 Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; quicquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum

7 ipsis dominis futurum est; in hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consecrando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas

10 gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit.

11 Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque perlevi

12 momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint?

13 Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae

14 et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, victo, circum-sesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem.

15 An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc



conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis demptis 16  
signis Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum  
certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud 17  
parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non  
ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus,  
cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata tem-  
poribus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis 18  
a me millies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum  
quam imperator, procedam *in* aciem adversus ignotos  
inter se ignorantesque.

§§ 1, 2. *and the armies on each side.* § 3. *Carthage had the ad-* **Ch. 44.**  
*vantage of making the attack,* § 4. *and besides had right on*  
*her side.* §§ 5, 6. *Why should the grasping Rome prescribe*  
*limits to Carthage?* §§ 7-9. *There would be no end to Roman*  
*aggression if it were not now resisted to the death.*

Quocunque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video ani- 1  
morum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum  
gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fide- 2  
lissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, quum *pro*  
patria, tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus 3  
bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto au-  
dacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes,  
maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit 4  
praeterea et stimulat animos dolor, iniuria, indignitas. Ad  
supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos  
omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis  
cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbis- 5  
sima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit; cum quibus  
bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum impo-  
nere aequum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos  
terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus,  
neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. Ne transieris 6

Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis. At *non ad* Hiberum est Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio move-  
 7 ris. Parum est, quod veterrimas provincias meas, Sici-  
 liam ac Sardiniam, adimis? Etiam *in* Hispanias et,  
*si* inde cessero, in Africam transcendes? *Transcendes*  
 autem? Transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni,  
 unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt.  
 Nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindi-  
 8 carimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum  
 habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata  
 itinera fugientes accipient; vobis necesse est fortibus  
 viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriam mortemque certa  
 desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubi-  
 tabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere.  
 9 Si hoc bene fixum omnibus [destinatum] in animo est,  
 iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum contemptu *mortis telum*  
 ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum  
 est.'

**Ch. 45.** §§ 1-3. *The Romans crossed the Ticinus and encamped near Han-  
 nibal.* §§ 4-7. *Hannibal before fighting encouraged his men  
 by the promise of rewards in the event of victory,* § 8. *which  
 he confirmed by a solemn vow.* § 9. *Great enthusiasm was  
 thus kindled among his troops.*

1 His adhortationibus quum utrinque ad certamen ac-  
 censi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum  
 iungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper im-  
 2 ponunt; Poenus, hostibus opere occupatis, Maharbalem  
 cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopu-  
 3 landos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis  
 parci quam maxime iubet, principumque animos ad  
 defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Roma-  
 nus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia passuum

a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; 4  
 revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, quum  
 instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum  
 praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad  
 contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem  
 pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, 5  
 Hispania, ubi quisque vellet, immunem ipsi, qui accepis-  
 set, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset,  
 ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Cartha- 6  
 ginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos  
 redire mallerent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum  
 popularium mutata secum fortunam esse vellent. Ser- 7  
 vis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit,  
 binaque pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque 8  
 ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem  
 retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita  
 se mactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset,  
 secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum 9  
 vero omnes, velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque  
 acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda  
 sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

§§ 1, 2. *But the Romans had been discouraged by portents.* §§ 3-5. **Ch. 46.**

*An encounter (the BATTLE OF TICINUS) took place between the cavalry of the two armies, § 6. which was at first doubtful, § 7. though at last the Romans wavered. Scipio was wounded, but his life was saved by his young son, § 8. the hero of Zama. § 9. The Roman Cavalry retired in good order. § 10. Caelius says that the consul was saved by a slave, an unromantic story for which there is no weight of authority.*

Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, 1  
 super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam 2  
 et lupo intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus  
 evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente

3 consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu  
iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium  
ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent,  
speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus  
4 ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros  
primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum  
equorumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hos-  
tium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen, et ad proe-  
5 lium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos  
equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod  
roboris fuit, in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites  
6 in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum  
clamore sublato, iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad  
secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquam-  
diu anceps; dein quia turbabant equos pedites inter-  
mixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi  
suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte  
7 ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in corni-  
bus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt.  
Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis  
vulnus periculumque, intercurso tum primum pubescen-  
8 tis filii propulsatum. Hic erat iuvenis, penes quem  
perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam  
9 victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga  
tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos  
Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem  
in medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed etiam cor-  
poribus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque  
10 effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Caelius  
ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem  
de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores  
et fama obtinuit.

§ 1, 2. *In the night the Roman army retired* § 3. *to Placentia. Ch. 47.*  
*Hannibal was not able to save the bridge over the Po. §§ 4-7.*  
*He subsequently crossed, probably by a new bridge. Caelius'*  
*account is clearly wrong. § 8. Hannibal encamped near*  
*Placentia.*

Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit ; quo 1  
 facile apparuit, [et] equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et  
 ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpes-  
 que, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque 2  
 proxima nocte, iussis militibus vasa silentio colligere,  
 castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est,  
 ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis  
 sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret.  
 Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal 3  
 ab Ticino profectos ; tamen ad sexcentos moratorum  
 in citeriore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit.  
 Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant,  
 tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Caelius auctor 4  
 est, Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen  
 extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora  
 Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem  
 ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis 5  
 amnis eius vix fidem fecerint ; nam neque equites armis  
 equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri  
 simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint  
 utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda  
 fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci pos-  
 set. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix 6  
 locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt ; ea  
 cum Magone equites et Hispanorum expeditos praemis-  
 sos. Dum Hannibal, citra flumen legationibus Gallorum 7  
 audiendis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, in-

terim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius  
 8 itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal  
 paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia castra com-  
 munivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie  
 directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

**Ch. 48.** §§ 1, 2. *Some Gauls on the Roman side revolted to Hannibal.*  
 §§ 3, 4. *Scipio, alarmed at this, moved on to some high ground*  
*near the river Trebia.* §§ 5-7. *Hannibal could not prevent*  
*him from encamping safely,* § 8. *but encamped near him.*  
 §§ 9, 10. *Hannibal took Clastidium, and supported his army*  
*by supplies from that place.*

1 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu  
 tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliariis Gallis facta est.  
 2 Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad  
 portas trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos  
 Poenus benigne allocutus et spe ingentium donorum  
 accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos  
 3 popularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum  
 defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque  
 eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quanquam  
 4 gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis  
 insequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad Trebiam fluvium  
 iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti castra  
 5 movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque  
 Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, tur-  
 basset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae  
 6 in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi  
 dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis  
 digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est  
 de manibus; et quum iam transgressos Trebiam Roma-  
 nos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum  
 7 occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec vexa-

tionem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam (iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal quum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quæ per hostium agros euntem, nusquam praeparatis com meatibus, maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi quum vim pararent, spes facta proditiōis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

§§ 1-5. *Meanwhile from three Carthaginian ships captured out of a fleet of twenty, Hiero learnt that a larger fleet was on its way.* §§ 6-8. *Hiero informed the Romans, who kept on the alert.* §§ 9, 10. *On the appearance of the enemy the Roman fleet was manned;* §§ 11-13. *and the Carthaginians also prepared for an encounter.* **Ch. 49.**

Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempromio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginienſibus missae; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex capti-

vis, praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere, eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegates insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque, ut Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates missi legati tribuni que suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem, missis. Itaque, quanquam de industria moderati cursum navium erant Carthaginenses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant. Extemplo *signum* datum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves consensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginenses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.



§§ 1-3. *A battle took place* §§ 4-6. *in which the Carthaginians* Ch. 50.  
*were defeated.* §§ 7-10. *Sempronius learnt at Messana from*  
*Hiero the news of Lilybaeum's danger, but Hiero was ignorant*  
*of its deliverance.* § 11. *So they both hurried to Lilybaeum,*  
*but learnt the good news on their way.*

Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam 1  
et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; contra eludere 2  
Poenus et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam  
virovum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut 3  
sociis navalibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem  
militate habebant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudqua-  
quam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod 4  
ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit  
animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves 5  
Punicae circumventae; fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille  
et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque,  
in his tres nobiles Carthaginensium. Classis Romana 6  
incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa  
reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius, qui Mes- 7  
sanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei  
fretum intranti rex Hiero classem *instructam* ornatamque  
obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam 8  
navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus ad-  
venisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam  
transitum, statum deinde insulae et Carthaginensium 9  
conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello  
populum Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiu-  
turum; frumentum vestimentaue sese legionibus consulis 10  
sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum  
Lilybaeo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam  
volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunc- 11

tandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde, pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves, accepere.

**Ch. 51.** § 1. *Sempronius then went to Malta* § 2. *and the island surrendered to him.* §§ 3-7. *After some other operations he sent his army to Ariminum. Joining it there, he marched to reinforce Scipio on the Trebia.*

- 1 A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur,
- 2 traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore, praeter insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt.
- 3 Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas
- 4 insulas inventus; nam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro, urbem etiam
- 5 terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegae ferret auxilium, missae traduntur.
- 6 Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem
- 7 agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam attribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse, compositis Siciliae rebus, decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae coniungitur.

§ 1. *The situation was critical,* § 2. *and the consuls did not* Ch. 52.  
*agree as to the course to be pursued.* §§ 3-5. *Hannibal ravaged*  
*the lands of the Gauls.* § 6. *The Gauls applied to the Romans*  
*for help,* §§ 7-9. *and against the advice of his colleague,*  
*Sempronius sent some soldiers to defend them.* §§ 10, 11.  
*A skirmish took place, the Romans gaining a slight advantage.*

Iam ambo consules et quicquid Romanarum virum 1  
erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse  
Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse, satis  
declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et 2  
vulnere suo† minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi  
alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod 3  
inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant,  
in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per am-  
biguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes.  
Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus 4  
periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad  
liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda 5  
militem aleret, duo millia peditum et mille equites,  
Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari  
omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit.  
Egentes ope Galli, quum ad id dubios servassent animos, 6  
coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant,  
legatisque ad consules missis, auxilium Romanorum terrae  
ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant.  
Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agenda rei placebat, sus- 7  
pectaque ei gens erat quum ob infida multa facinora, tum,  
ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum per-  
fidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis 8  
maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope, de-  
fensos censebat. Collega cunctante, equitatum suum, 9  
mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defenden-  
dum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et 10

incompositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque quum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere ; unde multitudine effusa pulsus rursus subsidio suorum proelium  
 11 restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes *cedentesque* quum ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium *caedes, penes* Romanos fama victoriae fuit.

Ch. 53. § 1. *But Sempronius considered it a great victory, §§ 2-5. and thought that no time should be lost in following it up, § 6. especially as his own consulship would shortly come to an end. §§ 7-11. He therefore determined to fight at once, which was exactly what Hannibal wanted.*

- 1 Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri ; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter
- 2 consul victus foret, ea se vicisse : restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter collegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet ; eum, animo magis quam corpore aegrum, memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere.
- 3 Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus ? quem tertium consulem, quem
- 4 alium exercitum exspectari ? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam, victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli
- 5 Romanos. ‘Quantum ingemiscant’ inquit ‘patres nostri, circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra, Poenum, quod inter Alpes Appenninumque agri sit, suae dicionis fecisse?’
- 6 Haec assidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et

occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger collega erat. Itaque, nequicquam dissentiente Cornelio, 7 parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet.

Hannibal quum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat, temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos; quum alterius ingenium, fama prius, 8 deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentus- 9 que erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi 10 vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Quum 11 ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

§ 1-3. *Hannibal sent Mago with some choice troops to prepare an Ch. 54. ambuscade,* §§ 4, 5. *and ordered his Numidian horse to begin the attack.* § 6. *Sempronius eagerly accepted battle.* § 7. *It was a cold snowy day,* §§ 8, 9. *and the Romans, who had had no meal before the battle, were half-starved and half-frozen,*

Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrinque clausus ripis et 1 circa obsitus palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratri ait; 2 'quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias;

- 3 nunc corpora curare tempus est.' Ita praetorium missum.  
Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora virorum  
cerno' inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti numero etiam, non  
animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis  
manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum mon-  
strabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes  
4 habetis.' Ita cum mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus  
dimisso, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites trans-  
gressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis  
iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem,  
iniecto deinde certamine, cedendo sensim citra flumen  
5 pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus  
peditum equitumque praeceptum, ut prandere omnes  
iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum ex-  
spectare.
- 6 Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem  
equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex millia  
peditum, postremo omnes copias, a destinato iam ante  
7 consilio avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumae  
tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque  
interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum  
8 praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque  
equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum  
frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quicquid aurae  
fluminis appropinquabant, afflabat acrior frigoris vis.
- 9 Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi  
sunt (et erat pectoribus tenuis aucta nocturno imbri), tum  
utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum  
tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et, pro-  
cedente iam die, fame etiam deficere.

§ 1. *but Hannibal's men were well fed and warmed.* §§ 2-5. *The battle (of TREBIA) now began in earnest.* §§ 5-7. *The Roman cavalry were from the first in difficulties.* § 8. *The infantry, though weary, hungry and cold,* § 9. *and hard pressed on all sides,* §§ 10, 11. *made a gallant resistance, and even succeeded in routing the elephants.* Ch. 55.

Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis 1  
oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo  
per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum  
est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem  
procedit. Baliares locat ante signa ac levem armaturam, 2  
octo ferme millia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem,  
quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit  
decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem  
divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentes 3  
equites, quum ab resistantibus subito Numidis incauti  
exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit  
peditibus. Duodeviginti millia Romana erant, socium 4  
nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum;  
ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis con-  
cursum est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus 5  
quum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere  
in cornua levis armatura est, quae res effecit, ut equitatus  
Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam quum vix iam per 6  
se resisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia et  
fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube  
iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti 7  
eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu  
modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant.  
Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas 8  
recentes Poenus, paulo ante curatis corporibus, in proe-  
lium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis  
et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si

- 9 cum peditē solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares, pulso equite, iaculabantur in latera, et elephantī iam in mediā peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab  
 10 tergo ingentē tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos.  
 11 Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertēre et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

**Ch. 56.** §§ 1, 2. *Then Hannibal sent the elephants against the Gauls and put them to flight, and this decided the victory. §§ 2, 3. Nevertheless ten thousand Roman soldiers cut their way through the enemy and retreated to Placentia. §§ 4, 5. Several others escaped to the same place, though many perished in the river or were cut down by the enemy. §§ 6, 7. On the other hand the Carthaginians suffered a great deal from the cold, §§ 8, 9. and were unable or indisposed to prevent the escape of Scipio.*

- 1 Trepidantesque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, eoque novus terror additus Romanis,  
 2 ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque quum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem millia ferme hominum, quum aliā evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis  
 3 firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere, et, quum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem  
 4 ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem in-  
 5 grediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis



Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, quum praesidium castrorum et quod reliquum *sauciorum* ex magna parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

§§ 1, 2. *At Rome it was thought that Hannibal would at once march on the city.* Ch. 57.  
 §§ 3, 4. *Sempronius managed to get to Rome, and presided at the election of the new consuls.*  
 §§ 5-8. *Hannibal making an attack on Emporium was beaten back by the Roman legions that were wintering in Placentia.*  
 §§ 9-14. *But he was able to take Victumviae.*

Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo portis moenibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum victo, alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quae arcessantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Is, quod unum maxime in praesentia desi-

derabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

- 5 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quiescentes erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, *ut* quaeque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves  
6 subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, quum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigilas.  
7 Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat,  
8 iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum, in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus iniecto, defensum egregie  
9 praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum  
11 eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa,  
12 armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et quum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque millia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere quum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur,  
14 ut tanquam vi captam urbem diriperent, neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, praeter-

missa clades est; adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

§ 1. *Then after a rest* § 2. *Hannibal started for Etruria.* §§ 3-II. Ch. 58.  
*But a terrible storm of wind, rain, and hail made it impossible for him to cross the Apennines.*

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora 1  
 erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa 2  
 veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque  
 gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate  
 adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta 3  
 tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit.  
 Vento mixtus imber quum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo,  
 quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes ver-  
 tice intorti affligebantur, constitere; dein, quum iam 4  
 spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi  
 a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono 5  
 caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes;  
 capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso 6  
 imbre, quum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo,  
 quo deprensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum  
 est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit; nam 7  
 nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec, quod  
 statutum esset, manebat, omnia perscindente vento et  
 rapiente. Ex mox aqua levata vento quum super gelida 8  
 montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis  
 deiecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines, tegmi-  
 nibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris 9  
 insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque  
 strage quum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu ne-  
 quiret, quia, torpentibus rigore nervis, vix flectere artus  
 poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac 10

recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad  
 11 alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco  
 velut obsessi mansere; multi homines, multa iumenta,  
 elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto  
 superfuerant, septem absumpti.

Ch. 59. § 1. *So he returned towards Placentia and offered battle, § 2. which Sempronius accepted. §§ 3-9. A fierce battle took place, but night came on before it could be decided. § 10. Hannibal then marched into Liguria, where he obtained possession of some noble Roman captives.*

1 Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit,  
 et ad decem millia progressus consedit. Postero die duo-  
 decim millia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem  
 2 ducit; nec Sempronius consul (iam enim redierat ab  
 Roma) detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria millia  
 3 passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die ingentibus  
 animis, vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo  
 res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed  
 pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque  
 4 oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo  
 portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit,  
 intentosque signum ad erumpendum expectare iubet.  
 5 Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, quum Romanus, nequic-  
 quam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi  
 6 castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal ac-  
 cepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit,  
 extemplo equitibus dextra laevaue emissis in hostem,  
 7 ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna  
 raro magis ulla \* \* aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior  
 fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset;  
 8 nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque  
 acrior concursus fuit quam caedes, et, sicut aequata ferme

pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura 9 fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum 10 eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intrecepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

§§ 1-4. *In Spain, Cn. Scipio won many allies for Rome,* §§ 5, 6. **Ch. 60.**  
*and in a battle with Hanno* §§ 7-9. *gained a brilliant victory.*

Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in 1 Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, quum ab ostio 2 Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporiis appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus 3 a Laeetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae fama 4 non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat; 5 eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positus, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui 6 sciret, cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos

7 simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio  
 fuit. Sex millia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio  
 castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux  
 cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; et Cissis, propinquum  
 8 castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi  
 parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium man-  
 9 cipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exer-  
 citus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in  
 Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impe-  
 dimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

Ch. 61. §§ 1-3. *However, HASDRUBAL, who had crossed the Ebro, was able to inflict considerable loss on the Roman stragglers near Tarraco. He then retired. § 4. But on Scipio's leaving Tarraco, § 5. Hasdrubal returned and induced the Ilergetes to revolt from Rome. §§ 6, 7. But he again retired as Scipio advanced, and the latter then reduced the Ilergetes, §§ 8-11. and afterwards the Ausetani.*

1 Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, trans-  
 gressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum,  
 mille equitum, tanquam ad primum adventum Romano-  
 rum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissa-  
 2 que castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul  
 Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palan-  
 tesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res negli-  
 gentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede,  
 3 maiore fuga ad naves compellit; nec diutius circa ea  
 loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans  
 4 Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novo-  
 rum hostium agmine acto, quum in paucos praefectos  
 navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico  
 5 relicto, Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso  
 eo, Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides

Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, toto cis Hiberum rursus 6 cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem quum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum, urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsegit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante 7 obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa, Laetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul iam urbe, quum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim millia; exuti prope omnes armis 9 domos passim palantes per agros diffugere; nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix 10 minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit, adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquoties coniectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo quum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

§§ 1-5. *Many portents were announced at Rome, §§ 6-11. and Ch. 62. various measures were adopted to avert the evils which they portended.*

Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta 1 aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quis, ingenuum 2 infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua 3 sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo affulsisse, et 4

aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem  
 5 Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedis-  
 se, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul  
 candida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno  
 lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia  
 6 lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob  
 cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem  
 lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novendiale sacrum edictum;  
 et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata  
 7 fuit. Nam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque  
 8 maiores, quibus editum est, dis caesae, et donum ex auri  
 pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est et  
 signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicave-  
 runt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae erant,  
 9 imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; Romae  
 quoque et lectisternium iuventuti et supplicatio ad aedem  
 Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia  
 pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quin-  
 10 que, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus,  
 11 si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec  
 procurata vota ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte  
 levaverant religione animos.

Ch. 63. §§ 1, 2. *The consul Flaminius determined to enter upon his office at Ariminum instead of Rome. §§ 2-4. His reason was that he had been long unpopular with the nobility, § 5. and expected obstruction from them. Accordingly he left the city secretly, §§ 6-10. a proceeding which the Senate regarded as most unconstitutional and irreligious. §§ 11-14. They sent to recall him, but in vain, and he entered on his office. But a melancholy omen showed that ill-luck would attend him. § 15. After this he marched to Etruria with four legions.*

1 Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae le-



giones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in provincia consulum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adverso senatu atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulum peperit. Ob haec ratus, auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palamfacta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spectorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa

10 solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii  
Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in dever-  
sorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sump-  
11 turum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt  
et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos homines-  
que fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam  
12 iret. In eam legationem (legatos enim mitti placuit)  
Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum  
moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab  
13 senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, im-  
molantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium  
sese quum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore re-  
14 persit; fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros, quid tre-  
pidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen  
15 magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a  
Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio prae-  
tore acceptis, in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus  
duci est coeptus.

## LIBER XXII.

§ 1. *Hannibal left his winter quarters* §§ 2-4. *somewhat earlier* Ch. 1. *than he would otherwise have done, on account of his apprehensions from the Gauls.* §§ 5-7. *Meanwhile the Romans talked angrily about the conduct of Flaminius,* §§ 9-14. *and gloomily about fearful portents that had been announced.* §§ 15-20. *Various measures were taken to avert the evils which they foreboded.*

IAM ver appetebat ; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, 1  
et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum  
intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac  
metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat 2  
spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent  
agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utri-  
usque partis exercituum hibernis videre, verterunt retro  
in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia ; petitusque saepe princi- 3  
pum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua  
consenserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et  
mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis, errore  
etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei 4  
timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus  
Martii magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de re publica rettu- 5  
lisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est : duos se  
consules creasse, unum habere ; quod enim illi iustum im-  
perium, quod auspiciū esse ? Magistratus id a domo, 6  
publicis privatisque penetibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio  
in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum

7 ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis  
profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra  
8 concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluri-  
bus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot  
spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigi-  
lias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et  
litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine su-  
9 dasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem  
minui visum, et Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo cecidisse,  
et Arpis parmas in caelo visas pugnantemque cum luna  
10 solem, et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas  
Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Her-  
culis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii  
11 metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Fa-  
leriiis caelum findi velut magno hiatus visum, quaque  
patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte at-  
tenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam: 'Mavors telum  
12 suum concutit,' et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis  
Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae  
speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem ca-  
13 dentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides  
habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in  
14 marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut  
erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam intro-  
15 ductis, consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum,  
ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lacten-  
tibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad  
16 omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, quum decemviri  
libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi  
17 esse divis e carminibus profarentur. Decemvirorum  
monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum  
pondo quinquaginta fieret, et Iunoni Minervaeque ex

argento dona darentur, et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique 18 commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro 19 maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum ([et] eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem 20 ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

§§ 1-4. *Hannibal's army, marching through the marshes of the Ch. 2.*  
*Arno valley, §§ 5-9. were exposed to great sufferings,*  
 §§ 10, 11. *and the general himself lost the sight of one eye.*

Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu 1 dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, quum 2 aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros (id 3 omne veterani erat robur exercitus) admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; novissimos ire equites; Magonem inde 4 cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua 5 modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti paene limo immergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi 6

neque assurgere ex voraginibus poterant, *nec* aut corpora  
 7 animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes  
 membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent,  
 inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque  
 omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres  
 8 noctes toleratae. Quum, omnia obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi  
 in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in  
 9 aqua sarcinis insuper incumbabant, *aut* iumentorum itinere  
 toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret aqua,  
 quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile  
 10 dabant. Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex verna primum in-  
 temperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus  
 11 superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen  
 et nocturno humore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia  
 medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

Ch. 3. §§ 1-6. *Hannibal began devastating the plains of Etruria to provoke Flaminius to a battle.* §§ 7-10. *Flaminius was determined to check this,* §§ 11-14. *and ordered an immediate advance, nothing daunted by omens real or imaginary.*

1 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis quum  
 tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit,  
 castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit,  
 2 exercitum Romanum circa Arretii moenia esse. Consul  
 deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque  
 et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera, quae cog-  
 nosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo  
 3 exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci  
 campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac  
 4 pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab  
 consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis,  
 sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens; hanc insitam ingenio  
 eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque

rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos 5  
nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere  
acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum  
atque irritare Poenus parat, et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas 6  
petens, medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quan-  
tam maximam vastitatem potest, caedibus incendiisque  
consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem 7  
hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res so-  
ciorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id  
dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum  
atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppug-  
nanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam 8  
speciosa suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunc-  
tis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent,  
interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa 9  
praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex con-  
silio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque quum  
*proposuisset*, 'Immo Arretii ante moenia sedeamus' inquit; 10  
'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e  
manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia  
ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus,  
quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium ab  
Arretio patres acciverint.' Haec simul increpans quum 11  
ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset,  
equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput  
effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo 12  
omine incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi  
moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium 13  
'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu affers, quae me  
rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad  
convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerunt.' Incedere 14  
inde agmen coepit, primoribus, superquam quod dissen-

serant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, quum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Ch. 4. §§ 1-3. *Hannibal occupied a pass by LAKE TRASIMENUS §§ 4-7. in such a way that Flaminius entering the pass was surrounded before he knew that the enemy was near.*

- 1 Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis
- 2 iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat; et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad *id* ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde
- 3 paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumultis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.
- 4 Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae.
- 5 Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus
- 6 dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucur-
- 7 rerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem



lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

§§ 1-7. *However, the Romans made a desperate resistance, and such was the fury of the battle that the shock of an earthquake passed unperceived.* § 8. **Ch. 5.**

Consul, percussis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in *re* trepida, 1  
impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos  
clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacun-  
que adire audiriue potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet :  
nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute 2  
evadendum esse ; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo  
timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum 3  
prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium  
accipi poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines  
et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque  
pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam  
onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine  
maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnera- 4  
torum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepen-  
tium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque.  
Alii fugientes pignantium globo illati haerebant ; alios 5  
redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, 6  
ubi in omnes partes nequicquam impetus capti, et ab  
lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies  
claudebat, apparuitque, nullam nisi in dextera ferroque  
salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque  
factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna  
est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, 7  
nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret  
acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo  
esset ; fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut 8  
post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardor ani-

morum, adeo intentus pugnae [animus], ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

**Ch. 6.** §§ 1-4. *After three hours' fighting the consul fell, §§ 5-7. and the battle then became a carnage. §§ 8-10. Still about six thousand from the van cut their way through the enemy, and came out of the pass, §§ 11, 12. only to be captured next day by the Carthaginian cavalry.*

- 1 Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter ;
- 2 circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur
- 3 cives, donec Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat), facie quoque noscicans consulem, '*En*' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus ; iam ego hanc victimam manibus
- 4 peremptorum foede civium dabo.' Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit ; spoliare
- 5 cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit ; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant ; per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii praecipitantur.
- 6 Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt ; fuere, quos inconsultus pavor
- 7 nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit ; quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis haurie-

bantur gurgitibus aut nequicquam fessi vada retro aegerime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi 8 agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et quum in tumultu quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata 9 denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublati 10 raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abriperunt. Postero die, quum super cetera extrema fames 11 etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese de- 12 diderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

§§ 1-4. *The slaughter of the vanquished was immense, even according to Fabius' estimate.* § 5. *Hannibal put the Roman prisoners in chains but released the Italians. He caused a search to be made for Flaminius' body in order to bury it, but it could not be found.* §§ 6-14. *The grief, consternation, and anxiety at Rome were extreme,* Ch. 7.

Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter 1 paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim 2 millia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem millia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo millia quingenti hostium in acie, multi 3 postea [utrinque] ex vulneribus periire. Multiplex caedes utrinque facta traditur ab aliis; ego praeterquam quod

4 nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme  
scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce  
5 belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal, captivorum  
qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis  
in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum  
cumulis corpora suorum quum sepeliri iussisset, Flaminii  
quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum  
non invenit.

6 Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti  
terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus.  
7 Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades allata  
quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percontantur; et  
quum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et  
8 curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo  
ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor ‘Pugna’  
inquit ‘magna victi sumus.’ Et quanquam nihil certius  
ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumori-  
9 bus domos referunt, consulem cum magna parte copi-  
arum caesum; superesse paucos aut fuga passim per  
10 Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus  
exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi  
eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio con-  
sule meruerant, ignorantium, quae cuiusque suorum  
fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid  
11 aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot  
diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum  
multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis  
opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, ne-  
que avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia  
12 inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium  
ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristitia nuntia-  
bantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos

circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio re-<sup>13</sup> pente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies <sup>14</sup> aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poënis posset.

§§ 1-4. *and were increased by the news of a second disaster.* §§ 5-7. **Ch. 8.**

*It was accordingly resolved to appoint a dictator, and Q. Fabius Maximus was appointed, with M. Minucius Rufus as his Master of the Horse.*

Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nun-<sup>1</sup> tiatur clades, quattuor millia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei <sup>2</sup> fama varie homines affecit. Pars, occupatis maiore aegritudine animis, levem ex cōparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod <sup>3</sup> acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam *in* valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et affectae civitati quodcunque <sup>4</sup> adversi incideret, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod aggravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque <sup>5</sup> desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit; et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populo *non consulto senatus* creare poterat, quod nunquam ante <sup>6</sup>

eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium  
 7 Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros  
 turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponderent, quibus  
 locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro  
 urbe ac penetibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri  
 nequissent.

**Ch. 9.** §§ 1-3. *After an ineffectual attack on Spoletium, Hannibal marched to Picenum, § 4. where he halted some days to rest his troops. § 5. He marched thence to Apulia. § 6. Servilius the consul returned to Rome. §§ 7, 8. Fabius prevailed on the Senate to order the Sibylline books to be consulted. §§ 9-11. In accordance with these, it was determined to make fresh vows to the gods, among others a 'ver sacrum,' and to perform solemn services.*

1 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium  
 2 venit. Inde, quum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare  
 adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniec-  
 tans ex unius coloniae haud *maximae* minime prospere  
 3 tentatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in  
 agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis  
 generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum praeda, quam  
 4 effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot  
 stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac  
 palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo quam  
 5 levi aut facili affectus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda  
 ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudenti-  
 bus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos  
 inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos  
 6 et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius  
 consul, levibus proeliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido  
 ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitusque

caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magis-  
 tratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab dis orsus, quum edocuisset  
 patres, plus negligentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque  
*quam* temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio  
 consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent, ipsos  
 deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme  
 decernitur, nisi quum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, de-  
 cemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. Qui, inspectis  
 fatalibus libris, rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa  
 votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque  
 amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes  
 Veneri Erycinae ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicatio-  
 nem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum,  
 si bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem, quo  
 ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam  
 Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium prae-  
 torem ex collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut  
 mature fiant, curare iubet.

§§ 1-6. *Accordingly the people were required to decree a 'ver sacrum,'* §§ 7-10. *and the other vows were taken and the other ceremonies performed.* Ch. 10.

His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus  
 pontifex maximus, consulente collegium praetore, omnium  
 primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet;  
 iniussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba  
 populus: 'Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? Si res publica  
 populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum,  
*sicut* velim voveamque, salva servata erit hisce duellis,  
 quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est,

quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cís Alpes sunt,  
3 tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver  
attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque  
profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque  
4 iusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet,  
5 facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id  
moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque  
scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus  
esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui  
6 cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum  
esto. Si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe  
factum esto. Si antidea, *ac* senatus populusque iusserit  
7 fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto.’ Eiusdem  
rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus  
millibus, *trecentis triginta tribus* triente, praeterea bubus  
Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris  
8 hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta; sup-  
plicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana  
multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua  
9 sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum  
lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum  
curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Iovi ac  
Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium  
Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum  
10 Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum  
aedes votae. Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maxi-  
mus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat,  
ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset;  
Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.



§§ 1-3. *Fabius then turning to military measures, raised two new legions, § 4. and after taking steps to protect the Italians against Hannibal, § 5. went to meet Servilius; and showed, by summoning the consul before him, §§ 6, 7. the power and dignity of the dictatorial office. The consul was then despatched to Ostia to act against a Carthaginian fleet, §§ 8, 9. and enrolled many soldiers at Rome, some to serve as marines, others to guard the city.* Ch. 11.

Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque [de] 1 publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotque legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, 2 ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac peditem videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum 3 ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edic- 4 toque proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam 5 consuli exercituque, quum ad Tiberim circa Oriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui quum dicto 6 paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci 7 iussus, navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae

essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi  
 8 hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis  
 hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus  
 9 liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex  
 hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta  
 annis erant, in naves impositi, alii, ut urbi praesiderent,  
 relictii.

Ch. 12. §§ 1-3. *It was near Arpi that Fabius first caught sight of the enemy. Hannibal at once offered battle, § 4. which was refused, §§ 5-10. and he found that he had a very different general to deal with from Flaminius and Sempronius. Fabius never gave an opportunity, but seldom missed one, and gradually taught his men to fear Hannibal less. §§ 11, 12. But many in the Roman army accused Fabius of paltry inaction, and their discontent was fomented by the arts of Minucius, Master of the Horse.*

1 Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco  
 legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad con-  
 2 veniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Prae-  
 neste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est  
 egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad  
 hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret,  
 3 fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul  
 Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora  
 facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pug-  
 4 nandi faceret. Sed ubi quieti omnia apud hostes nec  
 castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos  
 tandem † quos Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et  
 concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra  
 5 rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum  
 duce haudquaquam Flamini Semproniique simili futura  
 sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem  
 6 Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem

novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haudum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit, et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente 7 in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen 8 ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congredieretur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae 9 statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum com- 10 mittebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis 11 infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter 12 paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

§§ 1-5. *Hannibal determined to march to Casinum, §§ 6-9. but Ch. 13, through a misunderstanding of his guide reached Casilinum instead. §§ 10, 11. He began to devastate the surrounding country.*

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventa- 1 num depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indigni-

tatibus *ac* cladibus sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, quum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam, *ut* promissa rebus affirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum; sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum *pronuntiatione os*, *Casilinum* pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Callifanum Allifanumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatam descendit. Ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percontatur, ubi terrarum esset. Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falerinum praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

§§ 1-3. *The sight of the rich land in flames roused the indignation of the Roman soldiers against Fabius, §§ 4-14. and Minucius increased their excitement by a seditious harangue § 15. to the officers and better class of men, by means of which he stole away the loyalty of the army.* Ch. 14.

Ut vero, *postquam* ad Vulturum flumen castra sunt 1  
posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque  
passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio  
ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; quieverant 2  
enim per paucos dies, quia, quum celerius solito ductum  
agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus  
Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici 3  
montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri  
colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat  
mentio pugnae, ‘Spectatum huc’ inquit Minucius, ‘*ut* ad 4  
rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia veni-  
mus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem  
horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri  
miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam 5  
nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab  
extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et  
socordia iam huc progressus? Tantum, pro, degeneramus 6  
a patribus nostris, ut, praeter quam oram illi Punicas  
vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc  
plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam  
videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando 7  
non homines tantum, sed foedera et deos ciebamus,  
scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem lenti  
spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in 8  
oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plo-  
rantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam deorum invo-  
cantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus

deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus  
9 silvisque: Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque  
M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic  
novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis  
quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gal-  
10 lorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus  
nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis toties servaverint maiores  
11 nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem  
eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios  
allatum est, quum esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens  
prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso  
die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero  
12 die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post  
multos annos quum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite  
hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius  
Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo  
obsidendoque et lacescendo victorem hostem depulsum ab  
Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit?  
13 Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam  
dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem  
gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instru-  
14 mento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo  
aut votis debellari credere posse. Arma capias oportet et  
descendas in aequum et vir cum viro congrediaris. Auden-  
do atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus  
15 consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant.' Haec velut contio-  
nanti Minucio circumfundebar tribunorum equitumque  
Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta  
ferocia evolvebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset,  
haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio duci praelaturos.

§§ 1, 2. *Fabius, however, persisted in his inaction, until Hannibal Ch. 15. determined to leave Campania and go into winter quarters elsewhere.* §§ 3, 4. *Thereupon Fabius determined to entrap him in a defile.* §§ 4-10. *An officer, sent with some cavalry, to reconnoitre, incautiously allowed himself to be attacked by the cavalry of the enemy. He and all his best troopers were killed.* §§ 11, 12. *Minucius, who had been sent to secure the pass above Tarracina leading to Latium, now returned to Fabius, and together they occupied the pass leading towards the west.*

Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes 1  
intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quan-  
quam probe scit, non in castris modo suis, sed iam etiam  
Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus  
tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum ex-  
trahit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti 2  
certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea  
regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vine-  
aeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis  
fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Quum 3  
satis sciret, per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Faler-  
num agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum  
occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine 4  
dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis  
iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadrin-  
gentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex 5  
turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem  
magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo,  
ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos  
Numidas *vidit et* per occasionem etiam paucos occidit,  
extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque 6  
praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum  
prius recipere sese iusserat, quam in conspectum hostium  
veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugien- 7

- tesque ad castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum  
 8 atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem  
 summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus,  
 quum prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset  
 hostes, quinque ferme millia continenti cursu secutus est  
 9 fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere  
 sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in  
 10 proelium rediit, omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et  
 delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso  
 [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus  
 ad dictatorem perfugerunt.
- 11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad  
 firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in  
 artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus  
 Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset.
- 12 Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra  
 in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde  
 millia hostes aberant.

**Ch. 16.** §§ 1-3. *Next day a battle took place in which the Romans gained the advantage; §§ 4, 5. and Hannibal, finding himself entrapped, §§ 6-8. had recourse to stratagem. He bound fagots to the horns of about two hundred oxen.*

- 1 Postero die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra erat,  
 2 agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitis-  
 sent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen  
 Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hos-  
 tem. Carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese  
 3 pugnare; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna  
 et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate.  
 Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.
- 4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa,  
 quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum



sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset; nec Hannibalem fefellit, suis se 5 artibus peti. Itaque quum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. 7 Faces undique ex agris collectae fascisque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo millia ferme boum effecta, 8 Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

§§ 1, 2. *And when night came on the fagots were lit, and the oxen* Ch. 17. *were driven along the mountain side.* §§ 3-6. *The Romans thought that the lights on the hills were torches, and that they were surrounded. The force guarding the road left its position, only to fall in with the light troops of the enemy.* § 7. *Meanwhile the main body under Hannibal passed through the defile.*

Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto 1 ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes; et metus ipse relucentis flammae ex capite calorque iam ad vivum ad imaue cornua veniens velut stimulos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam 3 silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circa virgulta visa ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui 4

ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere. Qua minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a  
 5 suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo quum procul cerne-  
 rent, veluti flammas spirantium miraculo attoniti consti-  
 6 terunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes  
 7 ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal traducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

**Ch. 18.** §§ 1-4. *Next morning Fabius attacked the light troops of the enemy, who were, however, saved by a division of Spaniards. §§ 5-7. Fabius followed Hannibal as far as Gereonium. Then he encamped near Larinum, §§ 8-10. and from thence went to Rome for religious purposes, leaving the army, with repeated cautions, to the care of the heedless Minucius.*

1 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse  
 ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos  
 2 munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium  
 fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile  
 (etenim numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superas-  
 sent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab  
 3 Hannibale supervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus et ad  
 concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior quum  
 velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, campestem  
 hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile  
 4 elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, His-

pani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum 5 super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per 6 Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat, nec absistens nec congregiendi. Ex Pelignis Poenus flexit iter, retroque 7 Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacro- 8 rum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat et se 9 potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiūque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere; haud parvam 10 rem esse ab toties victore hoste vinci desisse et ab continuis cladibus respirasse,—haec nequicquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

§§ 1-9. *Meanwhile in Spain the Roman fleet surprised the Carthaginian fleet at the mouth of the Ebro,* Ch. 19.  
 §§ 10-12. *put them to flight, and drove them on land.*

Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania 1 quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal 2 ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit; quadraginta na- 3 vium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus naves prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus configere, quacunque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis 4

- hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque  
5 et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die *ad* stationem decem millia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita.
- 6 Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur.
- 7 Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus, datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem  
8 promuntoriis, quum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse.
- 9 Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo.
- 10 Vixdum omnes conscenderant, quum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia *ac* praepropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum  
11 capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam

suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, tentata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem, et quum adversi amnis 12 os lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

§§ 1, 2. *The Romans then landed and captured all the remaining ships, except those that had been destroyed.* §§ 3-5. *After that they took Onusa and advanced up to the walls of New Carthage.* § 6. *The fleet then went to Longuntica, where they captured some of Hasdrubal's stores,* §§ 7, 8. *and thence to the island of Ebusus, where they in vain besieged the capital,* § 9. *but secured a large amount of booty. On their way back, ambassadors came from the Baliaric isles to Scipio asking for peace.* §§ 10, 11. *On their return to Spain many fresh tribes made their submission.* § 12. *The Romans then advanced into the middle of Spain, and Hasdrubal retired to the west.* **Ch. 20.**

Romani, quanquam terra hostium erat armatamque 1 aciem toto praetentam [in] litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem naves omnes, 2 quae non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extrahere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere.

Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod 3 una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant. Itaque 4 ad Onusam classe profecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Quum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa 5 depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam 6 pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat, ad rem nauti-

cam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit,  
 7 sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis  
 modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam trans-  
 missum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum  
 8 nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam  
 9 frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem  
 agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam  
 ex continenti praeda parta quum in naves se recepissent,  
 ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem  
 10 venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora  
 provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum acco-  
 lunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt;  
 11 sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidi-  
 12 bus datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur  
 terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque  
 ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in  
 Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

**Ch. 21.** §§ 1-4. *After this an attack made by Mandonius and Indibilis on the Roman allies, which was easily repulsed, § 5. had the effect of bringing Hasdrubal back again, §§ 6-8. but Scipio instigated the Celtiberi to invade the Carthaginian territory and thus draw him off.*

1 Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aetatis tempus,  
 2 fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod  
 ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res  
 sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum  
 3 regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad  
 maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum  
 4 sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Ad-  
 versus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a  
 Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum,  
 fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magna-

que parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem 5  
ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tu-  
tandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, 6  
castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quum fama  
repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes re- 7  
gionis suae legatos *miserant* obsidesque dederant Ro-  
manis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt  
provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt.  
Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale 8  
duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim millia  
hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis mili-  
taribus signis capiunt.

§§ 1-3. *Publius Scipio now joined his brother, §§ 4, 5. and Ch. 22.*  
*together they crossed the Ebro and made for Saguntum, where*  
*Hannibal had placed his Spanish hostages. §§ 6-8. Abelux,*  
*a Saguntine, wishing to gain favour with the winning side,*  
*determined to deliver these hostages up to the Romans. §§ 9-14.*  
*He persuaded the Carthaginian governor of Saguntum to allow*  
*him to restore them to their homes, as the best way of keeping*  
*Spain faithful. §§ 15-18. But as soon as the hostages were*  
*in his power he delivered them up to the Romans, and then*  
*restored them to their homes in the name of the Roman general,*  
*§§ 19, 20. thus gaining so much credit for his new allies*  
*§ 21. that all Spain was ready to revolt to them.*

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam 1  
venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu  
missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus  
militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis in- 2  
gens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna  
laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto  
tenuit. Ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se 3  
coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gere-  
bant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Cel- 4

tiberico bello, haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste, Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat  
5 modico in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum  
6 suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum  
7 ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum emolumentum novis  
8 sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam.  
9 Sed quum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte  
10 aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet, quo  
11 statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque, quos metus non teneat,  
12 beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percontantique, quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum  
13 posset esse, 'Obsides' inquit 'in civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum momentum in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit.



Vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque 14 obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuvem meum et rei suapte natura gratæ, quantam insuper gratiam possim, adiiciam.' Homini 15 non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret, expromit, et fide accepta data- 16 que ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimis- 17 sus, quum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in praeeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra 18 Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam 19 quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu, incog- 20 nitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat, et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spec- 21 tare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quæ Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

Ch. 23. §§ 1-3. *In Italy Hannibal's high opinion of Fabius was not shared by the Romans.* §§ 4-8. *Hannibal had left Fabius' estate unravaged. This increased the unpopularity of Fabius, but he was able by the sale of the property to do good service to his country.* §§ 9, 10. *Hannibal had a permanent camp at Gereonium.*

- 1 Haec in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici belli  
gesta, quum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis
- 2 sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non  
mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae  
magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum
- 3 ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter  
cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam absente  
eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto verius dixerim
- 4 quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant  
duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac  
dolo Hannibalis, quod, quum a perfugis ei monstratus  
ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno  
eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri  
iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset,
- 5 altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non ex-  
spectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud
- 6 ambigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis  
captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, con-  
venerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque, ut, quae  
pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et
- 7 selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis quadraginta  
septem quum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset  
argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe iactata in senatu  
re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius erogaretur,
- 8 inviolatum ab hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio,  
vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.
- 9 Hannibal pro Gereonii moenibus, cuius urbis captae

atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

*In the absence of Fabius, Minucius gained a slight success, which was made the subject of a boasting despatch to Rome.* Ch. 24.

Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; prae- 1  
erat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae 2  
in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictas cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem 3  
fefellit, cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos; ipse autem, quod 4  
minime quis crederet, quum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme 5  
a Gereonio millia, in tumultum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis brevior via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romanorum 7  
postero die quum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. [Tum ut] itaque exiguum spatii vallum a vallo 8  
aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late

- 9 caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie  
certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta pars exercitus aberat  
*et* iam ea paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari  
10 poterat; iamque artibus Fabii sedendo et cunctando  
bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quae  
11 pro Gereonii moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et  
collatis signis dimicatum, quidam auctores sunt; primo  
concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione  
facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos; Numerii  
Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum.  
12 Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo,  
unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo millia  
peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab  
tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique  
praeuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma veni-  
13 entis. Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem,  
recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite  
14 duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex millia hostium  
caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam  
pari prope clade *vanam* famam egregiae victoriae cum  
vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

**Ch. 25.** §§ 1-11. *At Rome the tribune Metilius took the occasion of condemning Fabius' management of the war, and stated his intention to bring in a bill conferring on Minucius equal powers with Fabius.* §§ 12-16. *The dictator, who said nothing at public meetings in his own defence, could not get a favourable hearing in the Senate; § 16. accordingly he left the city on the day before that fixed for bringing in the bill.* §§ 17-19. *In spite of the popularity of the measure, no one spoke for it but Caius Terentius Varro, a man of low birth.*

- 1 De his rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione  
2 actum est. Quum, laeta civitate, dictator unus nihil  
nec famae nec litteris crederet *et*, ut vera omnia essent,

secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. 3  
Metilius tribunus plebis id enim *vero* ferendum esse negat,  
non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene 4  
gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare, et in du-  
cendo bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magis-  
tratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium  
habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, 5  
alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab  
Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia 6  
occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore  
egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem  
videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia  
habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam 7  
tanquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed  
Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos  
esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Ro-  
mani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pug- 8  
nare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum  
retentos; tanquam hostibus captivis arma adempta.  
Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liber- 9  
atos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes.  
Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, 10  
audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii im-  
perio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de  
aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen 11  
ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium,  
quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset.

Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime 12  
populari. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus  
audiebatur [tunc], quum hostem verbis extolleret bien-  
niique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum  
acceptas referret *et* magistro equitum, quod contra dictum 13

- 14 suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si  
 penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem effec-  
 turum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni  
 15 fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et  
 in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam  
 multa millia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse.  
 16 Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule  
 creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii  
 dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset,  
 17 nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta quum plebis con-  
 ciliium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque  
 magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant  
 homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat, prodire,  
 et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat.  
 18 Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui  
 priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed  
 19 etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum  
 institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis  
 ministeria usum.

**Ch. 26.** §§ 1-4. *Varro had renounced trade and had risen to the praetorship. He was now courting popularity by any means that might procure him votes for the consulship.* §§ 5-7. *The bill was passed, and all except Fabius—who knew that nothing could make Minucius a general—regarded it as a degradation of the dictator. Fabius returned to the army.*

- 1 Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a  
 patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit,  
 2 togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis  
 hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum  
 primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit,  
 3 quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli,  
 postremo et praetura perfunctus, iam ad consulatus

spem quum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram 4  
favoris popularis ex dictatoris invidia petiit scitique  
plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in 5  
exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dic-  
torem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt. Ipse, 6  
qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem  
inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam  
tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus de 7  
aequato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum imperii  
iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto a civibus  
hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

§§ 1-4. *Minucius' insolence and folly now knew no bounds.* §§ 5-7. **Ch. 27.**  
*He wished to make an arrangement for alternate periods of  
command.* §§ 8-11. *But Fabius insisted on dividing the  
forces.*

Minucius vero quum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset 1  
rebus secundis ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice 2  
immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q.  
Fabio gloriari. Illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac 3  
parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem  
magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium,  
iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri  
equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere  
soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. 4  
Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunc-  
tatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio damnata  
perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. 5  
Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quemad-  
modum imperio aequato utantur: se optimum ducere, aut 6  
diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis  
temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par 7

hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam esset, si quam  
 8 occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudqua-  
 quam id placere : omnia fortunam eam habitura, quam-  
 cunque temeritas collegae habuisset ; sibi communicatum  
 9 cum illo, non ademptum imperium esse ; itaque se nunquam  
 volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum  
 cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exerci-  
 tum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret,  
 10 quae posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut  
 consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta  
 11 Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item equites  
 pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia dividerunt.  
 Castris quoque se separari magister equitum voluit.

**Ch. 28.** §§ 1-8. *This arrangement delighted Hannibal, who proceeded to lay a trap for Minucius ; §§ 9-14. into which he immediately fell, and was in risk of having his division annihilated.*

1 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit ; neque enim quic-  
 quam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat et  
 2 perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem : nam  
 et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum,  
 3 et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus  
 erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occu-  
 passet, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus.  
 4 Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal,  
 quanquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certa-  
 minis cum Minucio, quem procursurum ad obsistendum  
 5 satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima  
 specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam,  
 6 sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus  
 tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda valle nulla talis  
 fraus timeri poterat ; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes,  
 7 ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In



has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi 8 tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumultum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta 9 paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam [dimittit], deinde conferto 10 agmine mittit equites; postremo, quum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et 11 Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia increscente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrinque viribus certatur. / Prima 12 levis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum *ex* inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percussos impavida sola erat vide- 13 baturque, si iusta ac directa pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum 14 tumultum terroremque in latera utrinque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

§§ 1-3. *Fabius perceived his colleague's difficulty and at once advanced to his rescue.* §§ 4-6. *He restored order to the broken ranks, and the Romans succeeded in repulsing the enemy.* §§ 7-11. *On returning to camp, Minucius announced his intention of solemnly acknowledging his error and his debt of gratitude to Fabius.* Ch. 29.

Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium audito, dein 1 conspecta procul turbata acie, 'Ita est' inquit; 'non

celerius, quam timui, depren- dit fortuna temeritatem.  
2 Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna  
superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique  
tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte; victoriam  
3 hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus.' Iam  
magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam,  
Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium  
4 ostendit. Itaque priusquam ad coniunctum teli veniret aut  
manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa at ab nimis  
5 feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage  
dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem;  
qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem vol-  
ventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc con-  
6 globati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi  
atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem,  
quum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale,  
ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.  
7 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta,  
quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis mili-  
8 tibus, 'Saepe ego' inquit 'audivi, milites, eum primum  
esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum  
eum, qui bene monenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere  
9 nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis  
quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secun-  
dam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare discimus,  
10 parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum  
Fabio iungamus. Ad praetorium eius signa quum tuleri-  
mus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio  
11 eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites,  
eos, quorum vos modo arma ac dexteræ texerunt, patronos  
salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animo-  
rum gloriam dies hic dederit.

§§ 1-5. *This was accordingly done,* § 6. *and the day ended with rejoicings.* § 7. *Despatches were sent to Rome, which altered the prevalent opinion about Fabius,* §§ 8-10. *while Hannibal was confirmed in his high estimate of his adversary.* **Ch. 30.**

Signo dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes *per* dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui circa erant, converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 'Parentibus' inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi quum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus *sum* magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihi[que] [quod] exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, placatus me magister equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas.' Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabilis factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam a patribus acceperant. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae

sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

Ch. 31. §§ 1, 2. *Meanwhile the consul Servilius made a descent upon Africa. §§ 3-6. Through his incaution he lost a great number of his troops. He then sailed for Sicily, § 7. and thence went to Italy to resume his military command. §§ 8-11. Fabius, though always spoken of as dictator, was really prodictator.*

- 1 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe *centum viginti* navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrinque acceptis,
- 2 in Africam transmisit, et, priusquam in continentem escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africae accessit
- 3 copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si *in* insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere illati, quum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga
- 5 retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum
- 6 tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab
- 7 legato eius P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se, exacto iam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.
- 8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Caelius etiam eum
- 9 primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Caelium et ceteros fugit, uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui

tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa *tertia* iam 10 clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas glori- 11 amque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore *fuisset*, *dictator* crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

§§ 1-3. *The consuls continued Fabius' method of warfare.* §§ 4-9. **Ch. 32.**  
*About this time an embassy came from the Neapolitans to Rome offering all the help in their power.*

Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano 1 exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communis, *quod reliquum* autumnus erat, Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hanni- 2 bali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant, eoque 3 inopiae est redactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie abundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relictaspe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Quum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediante constitisset 4 bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venire. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam illatae atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent, scire sese, populi *Romani* 5 aerarium bello exhauriri, et, quum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapo- 6 litanos, quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crede- 7 rent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. Gratum sibi patres

Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint, ab quibus donum animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

**Ch. 33.** §§ 1, 2. *A Carthaginian spy was captured at Rome, and a conspiracy among some slaves detected.* §§ 3-6. *Embassies were despatched to Macedonia, and other places,* §§ 7, 8. *and religious matters were not neglected.* §§ 9, 10. *The consuls, unable to return to Rome, desired that the consular elections should be held by an interrex.* §§ 11, 12. *The Senate preferred that they should be held by a dictator, but the year closed without any election taking place.*

1 Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque manibus  
2 dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent; indici data libertas et aeris  
3 gravis viginti millia. Legati et ad Philippum, Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium, Pharium,  
4 qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad postulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvis-  
5 sent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quae in Boiis atque  
6 Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos.  
7 Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit, aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse.  
8 Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore

urbano, C. Pupius et Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem, quam iussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello advocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est, dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum *res* rediit.

§ 1. *Next year the elections were held by an interrex.* § 2. *The candidature of Varro, strongly opposed by the nobles, was supported by the popular party* §§ 3-11. *and the tribune Herennius, who charged the nobles with purposely prolonging the war, and practising dishonest tricks to bar the election of the people's candidate.* **Ch. 34.**

Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius App. filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis: C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari assuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere,

per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat :  
 4 Ab hominibus nobilebus, per multos annos bellum quae-  
 rentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem,  
 5 quum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Quum quat-  
 tuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisset eo,  
 6 quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas  
 legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede  
 ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vin-  
 7 cere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde  
 Fabianis artibus, quum debellare possent, bellum traxisse.  
 Id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli  
 habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem  
 8 novum fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initia-  
 tos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a  
 9 patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere, id actum  
 et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum  
 10 potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum  
 morando quaesisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator  
 esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus  
 11 dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum  
 eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse; popu-  
 lum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere  
 quam diu imperare malit.

**Ch. 35.** §§ 1-4. *Varro was elected consul, but the nobles succeeded in giving him Aemilius Paulus as his colleague. §§ 5-7. Then the praetorian elections were held, and none but experienced men were appointed.*

- 1 Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M.
- 2 Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilebus iam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in



manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. Tum ex-  
 3perta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius,  
 L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et  
 damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat, in-  
 festum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem  
 compellit. Is proximo comitali die, concedentibus omni-  
 4bus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adver-  
 sandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum co-  
 mitia habita. Creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius  
 5*Philus*; Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pom-  
 ponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit; additi 6  
 duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postu-  
 mius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, 7  
 nec cuiquam eorum, praeter Terentium consulem, man-  
 datus honos, quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis  
 aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli  
 novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

§§ 1-5. *The consuls took the field with an army of unprecedented* Ch. 36.  
*size, eight legions of extraordinary strength according to some*  
*accounts. §§ 6-8. There were some omens to be averted before*  
*the generals could leave the city. § 9. Paestum sent a con-*  
*tribution to Rome, which was courteously refused.*

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem 1  
 copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero  
 et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam  
 satis certum affirmare ausus sim. Decem millia novorum 2  
 militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor  
 legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quo- 3  
 que peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum  
 et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina millia  
 peditum; treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum  
 equitum darent, peditis aequarent, septem et octoginta 4

millia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis *fuisse*, quum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt.

5 Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator praebuerat.

6 Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter

7 territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis sudasse

8 et aquas fonte calido *gelidas* manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata.

9 Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

Ch. 37. §§ 1-9. *Hiero of Syracuse sent provisions, troops, and a golden statue of Victory to Rome. §§ 10-12. All was gratefully accepted, § 13. and (in accordance with Hiero's advice) Otacilius was granted permission to cross over to Africa with his fleet.*

1 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno  
2 commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt, caedem C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria  
3 regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen  
4 se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvare soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant, magno opere  
5 se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti afferre

sese. Acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modium 6 tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Milite 7 atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille 8 sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad 9 ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu 10 ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id perinde, ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civita- 11 tibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriā omenque accipere, sedem- 12 que ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittarii et frumentum tradi- 13 tum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad *centum viginti* navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

**Ch. 38.** §§ 1-5. *Before the army started, an oath was administered to the soldiers by the military tribunes.* §§ 6-12. *Varro's presumptuous boasting formed a striking contrast to the language in which Paulus expressed his prudent resolves.* § 13. *The latter was confirmed in his wise purpose by Fabius, who told him*

1 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab  
2 sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod  
nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis  
3 militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter  
sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque  
iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriandum aut centuriandum  
convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites,  
4 centuriati pedites coniurabant, sese fugae atque formidinis  
ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli  
sumendi aut petendi [et] aut hostis feriendi aut civis  
5 servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad  
tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem trans-  
latum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, con-  
sulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis, bellum  
7 arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visce-  
ribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet,  
8 se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegae eius  
Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio  
fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer  
9 in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, [quod ne-]  
qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum,  
locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus  
10 in urbe sciret, quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem  
quoque praedicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis  
11 esset dimicaturus; se, quae consilia magis res dent  
hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus im-

matura non praecepturum; optare, ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur.

§§ 1-8. *that his greatest difficulties would be with Varro, who was bent upon courting disaster.* §§ 9-17. *It had been proved that the way to conquer Hannibal was to wait until time weakened him.* §§ 18-22. *Caution might be thought cowardice by Varro and his party, but caution combined with vigilance would certainly win the day.* Ch. 39.

‘Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fideque vestra faceretis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequicquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si, altera parte claudente re publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te. Cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es; adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est, Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam

peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumeno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet (stultorum iste magister est), sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque, donec res eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis, viris, equis, comitatibus iuvant iuvabuntque: id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui videt, in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliae inopis, tanquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet? Ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi

consules, vide, quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui, 18 quod hostium milites volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, *si* adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui 19 nunquam. *Vanam* gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. 20 Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo, te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut 21 nihil agatur, *suadeo*, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara 22 certaue erunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca.'

§§ 1-3. *Paulus agreed, but thought the prospect a gloomy one.* Ch. 40.

§§ 4-6. *The consuls started, and when they reached the quarters of the old army they formed two camps.* §§ 7-9. *Hannibal, whose supplies were running short, was glad to have a chance of winning a victory.*

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, magis 1 fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid 2 consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium 3 priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium

se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum.

- 4 Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, prosequen-
- tibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes
- 5 prosecuta, turba conspectior, quum dignitas deesset. Ut
- in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere,
- castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius
- Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur
- 6 virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem
- excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in
- minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum
- 7 equitumque duobus millibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quan-
- quam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen
- 8 adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil
- ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde
- raperet quidem, quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique
- frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes
- 9 munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compertum
- postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob
- inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum
- expectata foret.

Ch. 41. §§ 1-3. *A success won by the Romans increased the confidence of Varro, §§ 4-9. and Hannibal tried to take advantage of this by laying a trap to surprise the Roman army while plundering the Carthaginian camp, which had been purposely abandoned.*

- 1 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio
- materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis prae-
- datoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum
- quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haud-
- 2 quaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septin-
- genti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque
- occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insi-



diarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die (nam alternis imperitabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac 3 vociferante, emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, necessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud 4 aegerrime pati; quin potius credere, velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua 5 nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum 6 et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima, nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite, castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit, transque 7 proximos montes laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem mediam traducit, ut 8 diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictii 9 in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

§§ 1-7. *Into this trap Varro very nearly fell, in spite of the warnings of Paulus,* Ch. 42. §§ 8-12. *and though he at last gave in, it was with difficulty that the soldiers could be restrained, now that they had been roused by the prospect of plunder.*

Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius 1 adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Tum 2 satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor 3 inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et

4 consul alter velut unus turbae militaris erat; Paulus  
etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque  
esse; postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem neque  
ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium prae-  
5 fectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi  
adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis,  
ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque  
6 omnia cum cura renuntiat, insidias profecto esse; ignes  
in parte castrorum, quae vergat ad hostem, relictos; taber-  
nacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictas; argen-  
tum quibusdam locis temere per vias *velut* obiectum ad  
7 praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos  
nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus,  
ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux  
defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi.  
8 Paulus, quum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque au-  
spicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa  
9 collegae iussit. Quod quanquam Varro aegre est passus,  
Flamini tamen recens casus Claudiique consulis primo  
Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo  
10 incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam  
prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita  
evenit, ut, quum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli  
11 milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter  
Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter  
pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die  
ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant, omnem  
exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in  
12 insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii  
potentes fecit, quum ambitio alterius suam primum apud  
eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

§§ 1-4. *Hannibal was now in the greatest difficulty from scarcity of supplies.* § 5. *He determined therefore to go further south.* §§ 6, 7. *His retreat, though he tried to disguise it, was perceived by the Romans.* §§ 8, 9. *Varro's policy of following Hannibal prevailed.* §§ 10, 11. *Hannibal encamped in an advantageous position at CANNÆ (on the right bank of the Aufidus).*

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos 1  
 quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequicquam detecta  
 fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam 2  
 frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non  
 apud milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gen-  
 tium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam 3  
 quum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset  
 exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque an-  
 nonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites,  
 maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium  
 fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in 4  
 Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu omni, cum  
 equitibus se proriperet. Quum haec consilia atque hic 5  
 habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in  
 calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul  
*ut*, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impe-  
 ditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus 6  
 similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis,  
 ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed 7  
 per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra  
 transque montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum  
 procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia  
 agitari coepta. | Quum utriusque consulis eadem, quae 8  
 ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, |  
 Paulo nemo praeter Servilium, prioris anni consulem,  
 assentiretur, maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade 9  
 Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum 10

vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento,  
 11 qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id  
 quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare prae-  
 cipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi,  
 terga tantum afflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso  
 hostem pugnaturi.

Ch. 44. §§ 1-3. *The Romans followed, and made two camps near Cannae, on the Aufidus, the larger on the right bank, the smaller on the left.* §§ 4-7. *Annoyance from Hannibal's Numidian horse gave fresh occasion for disputes between the consuls.*

- 1 Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme intervallo,
- 2 quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante, copiis divisus. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat;
- 3 ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior
- 4 nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nactus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes.
- 5 Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quum Paulus Sempronii et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro *Paulo* speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiiceret,
- 6 testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam *velut* usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque
- 7 arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae

exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua *iam* prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna vigerent manus.

§§ 1-4. *After this the Numidian horse were sent across the river and threatened the smaller Roman camp, but Paulus, whose day of command it was, would not order a general attack.* Ch. 45.  
 §§ 5, 6. *Next day the decision rested with Varro, and he crossed the river with all his troops, to which he then united those in the smaller camp.* §§ 6-8. *The Roman cavalry was placed on the right wing, the allied cavalry on the left, and the infantry in the centre.*

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, 1 Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, quum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad 2 invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quum 3 vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero *adeo* indignum visum, ab 4 tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, 5 cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvere consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quo- 6 que, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra 7 pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; aculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima

8 acies facta. Consules cornua tenere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

Ch. 46. §§ 1-3. *Then Hannibal also crossed, and drew up his line with the Spanish and Gallic cavalry on the left, the Numidian cavalry on the right, and the infantry in the centre.* § 4. *The African infantry was armed in the Roman fashion with the spoils of Trebia and Trasimenus.* §§ 5, 6. *Very different was the appearance of the Gauls and Spaniards.* § 7. *Hannibal himself led the centre.* §§ 8, 9. *The sun shone on the flanks of both armies, but the Romans had the Sirocco full in their faces.*

1 Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus leviq̃ue alia armatura  
 praemissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita  
 2 in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam  
 3 laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum  
 cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus  
 firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interpone-  
 4 rentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam  
 [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis  
 et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum  
 5 captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere  
 erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac  
 sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim  
 assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucro-  
 nibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum quum magni-  
 6 tudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli super  
 umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura  
 tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus  
 omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit  
 7 quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant  
 sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem  
 8 Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol seu de  
 industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, perop-

portune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem versis; ventus (Vulturum regionis incolae vocant) adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

§§ 1-3. *The Roman cavalry on the right were routed by the Spanish and Gallic cavalry, after a short but fierce conflict.* Ch. 47.  
 §§ 4-10. *The Roman infantry drove back the Gallic and Spanish infantry, only to find themselves surrounded by the Africans, Hannibal having drawn up his centre with a view to this effect.*

Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levibus 1  
 primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrat, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim adversis 2  
 concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant. In 3  
 directum utrinque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga 4  
 vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac 5  
 sæpe connisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus 6  
 pedem institere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrinque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli 7  
 Hispanisque steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui 8  
 cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo

etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo  
 9 hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequicquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, ad-  
 10 versus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

**Ch. 48.** *The allied cavalry on the Roman side was routed by means of a treacherous stratagem of the Numidians and the help of Hasdrubal, who then went to complete the destruction of the Roman infantry.*

1 Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne  
 2 primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis  
 3 parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis, in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni  
 4 parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac  
 5 maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis  
 6 pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, His-



panos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

§§ 1-4. *Paulus, severely wounded, long kept up the unequal struggle.* Ch. 49.

§§ 5, 6. *When all around him had been routed, he was unable to fly, and was found helpless and bleeding by a young Roman officer,*

§§ 7, 8. *who offered to take him on his own horse,* §§ 9-12. *but Paulus preferred to stay and die.* § 13. *The rout then became general.*

§ 14. *Varro escaped to Venusia with fifty followers.*

§§ 15-17. *The carnage was enormous,* § 18. *and more than four thousand men were made prisoners.*

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quanquam primo statim 1 proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe 2 cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo 3 equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum renuntianti cuidam, iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: ‘Quam mallet, vinctos mihi traderet.’ Equitum pedestre 4 proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, quum victi mori in vestigio mallet quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et 5 labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Len- 6 tulus tribunus militum quum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, ‘L. 7 Aemili’ inquit, ‘quem unum insontem culpa cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum 8 et tibi virium aliquid superest *et* comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.’ Ad ea consul: ‘Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte 9

virtute esto ; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus  
10 e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis firment ; privatim Q. Fabio, L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et  
11 vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.’ Haec eos agentes prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere ; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento  
14 tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quin-  
15 quaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites, duo millia septingenti equites, †et tanta prope civium sociorumque pars, caesi dicuntur ; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et  
16 L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetorique et aedilicii (inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante *consul*  
17 fuerat), octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, quum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent.  
18 Capta eo proelio tria millia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

§§ 1-3. *There had been no such disaster since the battle of Allia.* CH. 50.

§§ 4-12. *From the smaller camp six hundred men under the tribune Tuditanus made their way to the larger camp. Thence reinforced by a still larger number they marched safely to Canusium.*

Haec est pugna *Cannensis*, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, 1  
ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, quia 2  
ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foedior-  
que. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita 3  
exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix  
quingenta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus  
exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus 4  
esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus erant, mittunt, dum  
proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna  
hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canu-  
sium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam asper- 5  
nari; cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire,  
quum aequae coniungi possent? quia videlicet plena hos-  
tium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora  
tanto periculo mallent obiiicere. Aliis non tam sententia 6  
displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tudi-  
tanus tribunus militum: 'Capi ergo mavultis' inquit 'ab  
avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra  
et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis an  
Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri  
honus quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemilii consulis, 7  
qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot for-  
tissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives  
estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium 8  
agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque  
incompositi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque 9  
audacia *via* fit quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo

quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil  
 obstat, disiiicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos  
 10 et rem publicam salvam vultis.' Haec ubi dicta dedit,  
 stringit gladium, cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostes,  
 11 et, quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacu-  
 larentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in maiora castra ad  
 sexcentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus, alio magno  
 12 agmine adiuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec  
 apud victos magis impetu animorum, quem ingenium  
 suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum  
 aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Ch. 51. §§ 1-4. *Hannibal would not take Maharbal's advice of marching upon Rome. §§ 5-9. The appearance of the battle-field was ghastly in the extreme.*

- 1 Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur  
 suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reli-  
 quum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi
- 2 sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal praefectus  
 equitum, minime cessandum ratus, 'Immo ut, quid hac  
 pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto' inquit 'victor in Capi-  
 tolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse
- 3 quam venturum sciant, praecedam.' Hannibali nimis  
 laeta res est visa maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere  
 animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis
- 4 ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum  
 Maharbal: 'Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere. Vin-  
 cere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis.' Mora eius diei  
 satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.
- 5 Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda  
 foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem exeunt.
- 6 Iacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equites-  
 que, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga;

assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentes vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem iugulumque et reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis, quum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

§§ 1-5. *Those who remained in the two Roman camps soon surrendered to Hannibal.* § 6. *It is said that Hannibal took pains to bury the body of Paulus.* § 7. *A rich lady named Busa maintained the fugitives at Canusium.* **Ch. 52.**

Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora 1 ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio obiecto flumine eos excludit; ceterum ab omnibus labore, 2 vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis 3 abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum 4 ibi tempus teritur, interea quum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem conditione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, 5 et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod pluri-

mum in phaleris equorum erat ; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera 6 praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit ; ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque, quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

Ch. 53. *A plot formed by some young men to abandon Italy was crushed by the energy and courage of young SCIPIO.*

1 Ceterum quum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Pub-  
2 licius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia App. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat,  
3 omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum *adollescentem*  
4 *et ad* App. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequicquam eos perditam spem fovere ; desperatam comploratamque rem  
5 esse publicam ; nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum principem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut  
6 deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii  
7 rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Auden-

dum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, 8 hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in 9 hospitium Metelli et, quum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, 'Ex mei animi sententia' inquit, 'ut 10 ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, 11 tum me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In haec verba, M. Caecilii, iures postulo, ceterique, qui adestis. Qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' Haud 13 secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

§§ 1-6. *Varro, reinforced by some more fugitives who came to him at Venusia, moved to Canusium, which thus became the headquarters of the remnant of the army.* Ch. 54. §§ 7-11. *At Rome, where rumour had exaggerated the disaster, the consternation was extreme, but it did not result in inaction.*

Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad 1 consulem ad quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos 2 omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicanos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat; et iam ad 4 decem millia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio post- 5

quam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam  
6 adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat moenibusque se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus *consulibus*  
8 exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nunquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque aggrediar  
9 narrare, quae edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse;  
10 Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole  
11 cladis non obruta esset. Compares *scilicet* cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere *et* vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

Ch. 55. §§ 1, 2. *The Senate was convened by the praetors, §§ 3-8. and Fabius proposed that systematic enquiries should be made, and the confusion in the city should be checked.*

1 P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia  
2 consulerent; neque enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus



hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis sicuti ingentibus, ita 3 ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et, nondum palamfacto, vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, equites 4 expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percontando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid di immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum 5 Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per im- 6 pigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus 7 familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectent, custodesque 8 praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

- § 1. *The proposal was carried and put into execution.* §§ 1-3. **Ch. 56.**  
*Letters came from Varro telling the facts of the case.* §§ 4, 5.  
*It was then learnt who had fallen, and the city was filled with mourning.* §§ 6-8. *Despatches came from Titus Otacilius asking for a fleet to defend Sicily.*

Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, 1 summotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae

2 a C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: L. Aemilium con-  
 sulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias  
 tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem  
 millia militum ferme esse incomppositorum inordinato-  
 3 rumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum  
 pretiis praedaeque alia nec victoris animo nec magni  
 4 ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae quoque per  
 domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem op-  
 plevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum  
 sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa  
 5 tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob  
 eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata  
 desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est  
 6 finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati  
 in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae  
 allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis  
 7 classe Punica vastari; cui quum opem imploranti ferre  
 vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem ad Aegates  
 8 insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum  
 ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lily-  
 baeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam ag-  
 grederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium  
 Siciliamque tueri vellent.

**Ch. 57. § 1.** *The Senate resolved to appoint MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS to the command at Canusium, and recall Varro to Rome.*  
 §§ 2-5. *Fresh alarm was caused by the discovery that two Vestals had broken their vows.* § 6. *In accordance with the Sibylline books human sacrifices were offered.* §§ 7, 8. *Marcellus then went to Canusium.* §§ 9-12. *M. Junius Pera was appointed dictator, and he with his Master of the Horse, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, proceeded to levy and to arm soldiers.*

1 Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis, censuerunt praeto-

*rem* M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas 2 clades quum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L. Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores ponti- 3 fices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, 4 ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad 5 oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacri- 6 ficia aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro boario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus 7 ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica (ea legio tertia erat) cum 8 tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex 9 auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, dilectu edicto, iuniores ab annis septendecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt; quattuor

10 ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios  
 Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos  
 mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia  
 11 hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam  
 formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac ne-  
 cessitas dedit; octo millia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis,  
 prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, empta pub-  
 12 lice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio  
 minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

**Ch. 58.** §§ 1, 2. *Hannibal having released the other captives, §§ 3-8. allowed his Roman prisoners to send a deputation to the Senate about their ransom. Carthalo went with them to offer terms of peace, § 9. but was met by an order from the dictator to leave the Roman territory before nightfall.*

1 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad  
 Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis  
 2 intentus curis, quum, captivis productis segregatisque,  
 socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum,  
 benigne allocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quo-  
 que vocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti ser-  
 3 mone alloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum  
 Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare.  
 Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse et se id anniti, ut  
 4 suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque  
 redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fore in  
 capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos  
 5 pediti, servo centenos. Quanquam aliquantum adiicie-  
 batur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dedentes  
 se, laeti tamen quamcunque condicionem paciscendi  
 6 acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi,  
 qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei,  
 7 quam ut iurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum

his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Quum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

*The head of the deputation made a long speech entreating the Senate to ransom the captives.* **Ch. 59.**

Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, 1 quorum princeps: 'M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti' inquit, 'nemo nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi 2 nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradi- 3 dimus, sed quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, 4 fessi labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero 5 die, quum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti 6 sumus pretium, quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores 7 quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Taren-

8 tum misisse. Atqui et *ad* Aliam cum Gallis et ad  
Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis  
quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos  
acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus  
9 pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires  
hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam,  
qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt, sed praesidio castris  
relicti, quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium  
10 venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis  
fortunae aut conditioni invidio, nec premendo alium  
me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernecitatis  
pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique  
inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae  
aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint  
gloriatique sint, in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei  
11 publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus  
utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod  
beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti  
12 fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis;  
octo millia servorum audio armari. Non minor nume-  
rus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus, quam  
ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam  
13 nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio  
animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si  
iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito  
14 faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet,  
qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac  
Poeni, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari  
15 potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem  
civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species  
moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannen-  
16 sibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollici-

tudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem ensetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Si, medius- 17 fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, quum indigni ut redimeremur [a] vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio 18 capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque *habet* animum, patres conscripti. Scio, in discrimine 19 esse vitam corpusque meum; magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent.'

§§ 1-4. *His speech produced a great effect,* § 5. *but on the advice* Ch. 60.  
*of T. Manlius Torquatus, §§ 6-27. who doubted the courage*  
*of the captives, and represented that they ought to have joined*  
*Tuditanus in his spirited venture,*

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in 1 comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in 2 foro turbae virorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi quum sententiis variaretur, 3 et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si 4 quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, 5 priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videbatur, severita-

6 tis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: 'Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione  
7 eorum brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, quum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae  
8 illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris  
9 Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed quum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem millia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam *per* confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium  
10 sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes  
11 posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumultum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit: 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra



eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,' si hoc 12  
P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos  
vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis exstitisset comes.  
Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem 13  
demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges  
ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: 14  
quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta  
millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent.  
Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit;  
si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi  
atque incolumes desiderate 15 patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives  
eius estis! sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienato  
iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio 16  
redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P.  
Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere  
ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis  
castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. *Ququam quid* 17  
ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quum scelus possim accusare?  
Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed  
obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri  
fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio  
per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos  
cives patria desideret, 18 quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis,  
qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet? Ex milli- 19  
bus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere  
auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent,  
neque his sexcentis hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter 20  
duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse?  
Haberetis hodie viginti millia armatorum Canusii fortia,  
fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum

hi boni fidelesque (nam 'fortes' ne ipsi quidem dixerint)  
21 cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest, aut favisse  
erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt,  
aut non, invidere eos quum incolumitati, tum gloriae  
illorum per virtutem partae, quum sibi timorem ignaviam-  
22 que servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Malue-  
runt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem  
exspectare, quum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset.  
*At* ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda  
23 fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot  
obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem  
ultima ausi passique, quum omnia subsidia vitae dees-  
sent affectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequi-  
rent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi  
24 sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secun-  
dam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradide-  
25 runt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis istorum per biduum  
militia fuit. Quum *in* acie stare ac pugnare decuerat,  
tum in castra refugerunt; quum pro vallo pugnandum  
erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris  
26 utiles. Et vos redimam? Quum erumpere *e* castris  
oportet, cunctari ini ac manetis; quum manere *et* castra  
tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos  
27 traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres  
conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui  
per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam  
virtutem se patriae restituerunt.'

§§ 1-3. *it was determined not to ransom them.* § 4. *One refused* Ch. 61.  
*to go back, as having by a subterfuge freed himself from his*  
*obligation, but he was arrested and sent to Hannibal.* §§ 5-10.  
*There is a different account given of the whole affair.* §§ 10-12.  
*The effect of Cannae was now seen in a series of revolts of the*  
*Roman allies.* § 13. *Yet not a single Roman thought of*  
*peace,* §§ 14, 15. *and such was the temper of the citizens that*  
*when Varro returned he was thanked 'for not having despaired*  
*of his country.'*

Postquam Manlius dixit, quanquam patrum quoque 1  
 plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exem-  
 plum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus  
 indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit,  
 quia nec aerarium exauriri, magna iam summa erogata 2  
 in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Han-  
 nibalem, maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem,  
 locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non re- 3  
 dimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem  
 luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis  
 fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt.  
 Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra 4  
 iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit rela-  
 tumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehen-  
 dendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad  
 Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse; 5  
 de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur  
 in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus  
 daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios 6  
 tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Cal-  
 purnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato 7  
 Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum  
 esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos lega-

tos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres reman-  
8 sisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum  
ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsol-  
vissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in  
senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos  
9 censuerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus  
notis ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum  
mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro  
solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico carue-  
10 rint. Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam,  
quid veri sit, discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus  
fuerit, vel ea res indicio *est, quod fides sociorum*, quae ad  
eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto  
11 alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere  
autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini,  
12 Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes,  
Lucani, praeter hos Uzentini, et Graecorum omnis ferme  
ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et  
13 Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectio-  
nesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud  
Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum  
nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae  
14 cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas  
fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima  
fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus  
ordinibus sit et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non  
15 desperasset; qui *si* Carthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil  
recusandum supplicii foret.

## LIBER XXIII.

§§ 1-4. *Soon after Cannae, Compsa had surrendered to Hannibal, Ch. 1.*

§§ 5-10. *and he then determined to attack Naples, but though successful in a cavalry skirmish he abandoned the project.*

HANNIBAL post Cannensem pugnam *castraque* capta ac 1  
direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat, accitus  
in Hirpinos a Statio *Trebio*, pollicente se Compsam tradi-  
turum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter suos; sed 2  
premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per gratiam  
Romanorum potentis. Post famam Cannensis pugnae 3  
vulgatumque Trebii sermonibus adventum Hannibalis  
quum Mopsiani urbe excessissent, sine certamine tradita  
urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. Ibi praeda 4  
omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito, Mago-  
nem regionis eius urbes aut deficientes ab Romanis  
accipere aut detrectantes cogere ad defectionem iubet,  
ipse per agrum Campanum mare inferum petit, oppug- 5  
naturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. Ubi 6  
fines Neapolitanorum intravit, Numidas partim in insidiis  
(et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti), quacunque  
apte poterat, disposuit, alios prae se actam praedam ex  
agris ostentantes obequitare portis iussit. In quos, quia 7  
nec multi et incompositi videbantur, quum turma equitum  
erupisset, ab cedentibus consulto tracta in insidias circum-  
venta est; nec evasisset quisquam, ni mare propinquum 8  
et haud procul litore naves, piscatoriae pleraeque, con-  
spectae peritis nandi dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen 9

eo proelio nobiles iuvenes capti caesique, inter quos et Hegeas, praefectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes  
 10 secutus cecidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum abster-  
 ruere conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta oppug-  
 nanti.

**Ch. 2. § 1.** *Next he went to Capua. §§ 2-8. There a man named Pacu-  
 vius Calavius had by a strange scheme made the Senate sub-  
 servient to him. Its existence, and the lives of its members,  
 being threatened by the democratic party, §§ 9, 10. Pacuvius  
 pretended to put the Senate in their power,*

- 1 Inde Capuam flectit iter, luxuriantem longa felicitate  
 atque indulgentia fortunae, maxime tamen inter corrupta  
 omnia licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis.
- 2 Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Pacuvius Calavius  
 fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis homo, ceterum malis
- 3 artibus nactus opes. Is quum eo forte anno, quo res  
 male gesta ad Trasumennum est, in summo magistratu  
 esset, iam diu infestam senatui plebem ratus per occa-  
 sionem novandi res magnum ausuram facinus, ut, si in  
 ea loca Hannibal cum victore exercitu venisset, trucidato
- 4 senatu traderet Capuam Poenis, improbus homo, sed non  
 ad extremum perditus, quum mallet incolumi quam eversa  
 re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem esse or-  
 batam publico consilio crederet, rationem iniit, qua et  
 senatum servaret et obnoxium sibi ac plebi faceret.
- 5 Vocato senatu, quum sibi defectionis ab Romanis con-  
 silium placiturum nullo modo, nisi necessarium fuisset,  
 praefatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex App. Claudii filia  
 haberet filiamque Romam nuptum M. Livio dedisset;  
 ceterum maiorem multo rem magisque timendam instare;
- 7 non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex civitate  
 senatum plebem spectare, sed per caedem senatus vacuum

rem publicam tradere Hannibali ac Poenis velle; eo se 8  
periculo posse liberare eos, si permittant sibi et certa-  
minum in re publica obliti credant, — quum omnes victi  
metu permetterent, ‘Claudam’ inquit ‘in curia vos et, 9  
tanquam et ipse cogitati facinoris particeps, approbando  
consilia, quibus nequicquam adversarer, viam saluti  
vestrae inveniam. In hoc fidem, quam vultis ipsi,  
accipite.’ Fide data egressus claudi curiam iubet, prae-  
sidiumque in vestibulo relinquit, ne quis adire curiam 10  
iniussu suo neve inde egredi possit.

§§ 1-6. *and then proposed the election of new senators in their* Ch. 3.  
*place. §§ 7-14. But all the men nominated were more hateful*  
*to the majority than the members of the old Senate had been,*  
*and thus no change was effected, and the lives of the senators*  
*were saved.*

Tum vocato ad contionem populo, ‘Quod saepe’ inquit 1  
‘optastis, Campani, ut supplicii sumendi vobis ex improbo  
ac detestabili senatu potestas esset, eam non per tumul- 2  
tum expugnantes domos singulorum, quas praesidiis  
clientium servorumque tuentur, cum summo vestro peri-  
culo, sed tutam habetis ac liberam; clausos omnes in  
curia accipite, solos, inermes. Nec quicquam raptim aut 3  
forte temere egeritis; de singulorum capite vobis ius  
sententiae dicendae faciam, ut, quas quisque meritis est,  
poenas pendat; sed ante omnia ita vos irae indulgere 4  
oportet, ut potioem ira salutem atque utilitatem vestram  
habeatis. Etenim hos, ut opinor, odistis senatores, non  
senatum omnino habere non vultis; quippe aut rex, quod 5  
abominandum, aut, quod unum liberae civitatis consilium  
est, senatus habendus est. Itaque duae res simul agenda  
vobis sunt, ut et veterem senatum tollatis et novum  
cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores iubebo deque eorum 6

capite vos consulam; quod de quoque censueritis, fiet; sed prius in eius locum virum fortem ac strenuum novum senatorem cooptabitis, quam de noxio supplicium sumatur.' Inde consedit et, nominibus in urnam coniectis, citari, quod primum sorte nomen excidit, ipsumque e curia produci iussit. Ubi auditum est nomen, malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare et supplicio dignum. Tum Pacuvius: 'Video, quae de hoc sententia sit; date igitur pro malo atque improbo bonum senatorem et iustum.' Primo silentium erat inopia potioris subiiciundi; deinde quum aliquis omissa verecundia quempiam nominasset, multo maior extemplo clamor oriebatur, quum alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra, nunc humilitatem sortidamque inopiam et pudendae artis aut quaestus genus obiicerent. Hoc multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est factum, ut ipsius paenitere homines appareret, quem autem in eius substituerent locum, deesse, quia nec eosdem nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque ceteri erant eis, qui primi memoriae occurrebant. Ita dilabi homines, notissimum quodque malum maxime tolerabile dicentes esse, iubentesque senatum ex custodia dimitti.

**Ch. 4. § 1.** *Thus Pacuvius became the supreme power in Capua, the Senate regarding him as their deliverer, §§ 2-4. and sinking into abject subservience to the commons. §§ 4, 5. The result was the deep corruption of the state, § 6. which, after Cannae, began to think even of revolt from Rome, §§ 7, 8. and was only restrained by the nobles, who were bound by many ties to Rome,*

- 1 Hoc modo Pacuvius quum obnoxium vitae beneficio senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset, sine armis,
- 2 iam omnibus concedentibus, dominabatur. Hinc sena-



tores, omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria, plebem adulari; salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere 3 epulis, eas causas suscipere, ei semper parti adesse, secundum eam litem iudices dare, quae magis popularis aptiorque in vulgus favori conciliando esset; iam vero 4 nihil in senatu agi aliter, quam si plebis ibi esset concilium. Prona semper civitas in luxuriam non ingeni-  
 orum modo vitio, sed affluentia copia voluptatum et illecebris omnis amoenitatis maritimae terrestisque, tum 5  
 vero ita obsequio principum et licentia plebei lascivire, ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus esset. Ad con- 6  
 temptum legum, magistratum, senatus accessit tum, post Cannensem cladem, ut, cuius aliqua verecundia erat, Romanum quoque spernerent imperium. Id modo erat 7  
 in mora, ne extemplo deficerent, quod connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentes Romanis miscuerat, et quod, quum militarent aliquot apud Ro- 8  
 manos, maximum vinculum erant trecenti equites, nobilissimus quisque Campanorum, in praesidia Sicularum urbium delecti ab Romanis ac missi.

§ 1. *and who carried their point that envoys should first be sent to Ch. 5.*  
*Varro, who at that time was still at Venusia. §§ 2-15. In answer to their proffers of help, Varro made the mistake of speaking too plainly about Rome's great calamity and her need of assistance.*

Horum parentes cognatique aegre pervicerunt, ut legati 1  
 ad consulem<sup>†</sup> Romanum mitterentur.

Ii nondum Canusium profectum, sed Venusiae cum paucis ac semiermibus consulem invenerunt, quam poterat maxime miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis atque infidelibus, ut erant Campani, spernendum. Et auxit rerum 2  
 suarum suique contemptum consul nimis detegendo

3 cladem nudandoque. Nam quum legati, aegre ferre  
senatum populumque Campanum, adversi quicquam  
evenisse Romanis, nuntiassent pollicerenturque omnia,  
4 quae ad bellum opus essent, 'Morem magis' inquit  
'loquendi cum sociis servastis, Campani, iubentes, quae  
opus essent ad bellum, imperare, quam convenienter ad  
5 praesentem fortunae nostrae statum locuti estis. Quid  
enim nobis ad Cannas relictum est, ut, quia aliquid  
habeamus, id, quod deest, expleri ab sociis velimus?  
Pedites vobis imperemus, tanquam equites habeamus?  
Pecuniam deesse dicamus, tanquam ea tantum desit?  
6 Nihil, ne quod suppleremus quidem, nobis reliquit fortuna.  
Legiones, equitatus, arma, signa, equi virique, pecunia,  
commeatus aut in acie aut binis postero die amissis  
7 castris perierunt. Itaque non iuветis nos in bello oportet,  
8 Campani, sed paene bellum pro nobis suscipiatis. Veniat  
in mentem, ut trepidos quondam maiores vestros intra  
moenia compulsos, nec Samnitem modo hostem, sed  
etiam Sidicinum paventes, receptos in fidem *ad* Saticulam  
defenderimus, coeptumque propter vos cum Samnitibus  
bellum per centum prope annos, variante fortuna even-  
9 tum, tulerimus. Adiicite ad haec, quod foedus aequum  
deditis, quod leges vestras, quod ad extremum, id quod  
ante Cannensem certe cladem maximum fuit, civitatem  
nostram magnae parti vestrum dedimus communicavi-  
10 musque vobiscum. Itaque communem vos hanc cladem,  
quae accepta est, credere, Campani, oportet, communem  
11 patriam tuendam arbitrari esse. Non cum Samnite aut  
Etrusco res est, ut, quod a nobis ablatum sit, in Italia  
tamen imperium maneat; Poenus hostis ne Africae  
quidem indigenam ab ultimis terrarum oris, freto Oceani  
Herculisque columnis, expertem omnis iuris et condicionis

et linguae prope humanae militem trahit. Hunc natura 12  
 et moribus immitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferavit,  
 pontibus ac molibus ex humanorum corporum strue  
 faciendis et, quod proloqui etiam piget, vesci corporibus  
 humanis docendo. His infandis pastos epulis, quos con- 13  
 tingere etiam nefas sit, videre atque habere dominos et ex  
 Africa et a Carthagine iura petere et Italiam Numidarum  
 ac Maurorum pati provinciam esse, cui non, genito modo  
 in Italia, detestabile sit? Pulchrum erit, Campani, pro- 14  
 lapsum clade Romanorum imperium vestra fide, vestris  
 viribus retentum ac recuperatum esse. Triginta millia 15  
 peditum, quattuor equitum arbitror ex Campania scribi  
 posse; iam pecuniae affatim est frumentique. Si parem  
 fortunae vestrae fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se vicisse  
 sentiet nec Romani victos esse.'

§§ 1-3. *After this the ambassadors gave, on their return to Capua, Ch. 6.*  
*so exaggerated an account of the calamities of Rome, §§ 4, 5.*  
*that after some debating it was resolved to send them on to make*  
*terms with Hannibal, §§ 6-8. though there is a story, resting*  
*on poor authority, that an embassy was first sent to Rome with*  
*extravagant demands.*

Ab hac oratione consulis dimissis redeuntibusque 1  
 domum legatis, unus ex iis Vibius Virrius tempus venisse  
 ait, quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis quon-  
 dam per iniuriam ademptum recuperare, sed imperio  
 etiam Italiae potiri possint; foedus enim cum Han- 2  
 nibale, quibus velint legibus, facturos; neque contro-  
 versiam fore, quin, quum ipse confecto bello Hannibal  
 victor in Africam decedat exercitumque deportet, Italiae  
 imperium Campanis relinquatur. Haec Virrio loquenti 3  
 assensi omnes ita renuntiant legationem, uti deletum  
 omnibus videretur nomen Romanum. Extemplo plebs 4

- 5 ad defectionem ac pars maior senatus spectare ; extracta tamen auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res. Postremo vicit sententia plurium, ut iidem legati, qui ad consulem Romanum ierant, ad Hannibalem mitterentur.
- 6 Quo priusquam iretur certumque defectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in quibusdam annalibus invenio postulantes, ut alter consul Campanus
- 7 fieret, si rem Romanam adiuvari vellent ; indignatione orta, summoventi a curia iussos esse, missumque lictorem, qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die manere extra fines
- 8 Romanos iuberet. Quia nimis compar Latinorum quondam postulatio erat, Caeliusque et alii id haud sine causa praetermissuri erant scriptores, ponere pro certo sum veritus.

**Ch. 7.** §§ 1, 2. *Terms were then made with Hannibal, § 3. and the Campanians shewed their zeal for his cause by suffocating all the Romans in Capua in the hot-room of the baths. §§ 4-6. All these proceedings were strongly opposed by Decius Magius, who counselled his countrymen not to suffer Capua to be garrisoned by Carthaginian troops. §§ 7-10. Hannibal hearing of this, summoned Decius before him, but he refused to go, or to shew him any respect. §§ 11, 12. Hannibal spent his first day at Capua in seeing the city,*

- 1 Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt pacemque cum eo condicionibus *his* fecerunt, ne quis imperator magistratusve Poenorum ius ullum in civem Campanum haberet, neve
- 2 civis Campanus invitus militaret munusve faceret ; ut suae leges, sui magistratus Capuae essent ; ut trecentos ex Romanis captivis Poenus daret Campanis, quos ipsi elegissent, cum quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in
- 3 Sicilia stipendia facerent, permutatio fieret. Haec pacta ; illa insuper, quam quae pacta erant, facinora Campani ediderunt : nam praefectos socium civesque Romanos

alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim privatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repente omnes comprehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum exspirarent.

Ea ne fierent neu legatio mitteretur ad Poenum, summa 4 ope Decius Magius, vir, cui ad summam auctoritatem nihil praeter sanam civium mentem defuit, restiterat. Ut 5 vero praesidium mitti ab Hannibale audivit, Pyrrhi superbam dominationem miserabilemque Tarentinorum servitutem exempla referens, primo, ne reciperetur praesidium, palam vociferatus est, deinde, ut receptum aut eiiceretur 6 aut, si malum facinus, quod a vetustissimis sociis consanguineisque defecissent, forti ac memorabili facinore purgare vellent, ut interfecto Punico praesidio restituerent Romanis se. Haec (nec enim occulte agebantur) quum 7 relata Hannibali essent, primo misit, qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra; deinde, quum is ferociter negasset se iturum, nec enim Hannibali ius esse in civem Campanum, concitatus ira Poenus comprehendi hominem vinctumque attrahi ad sese iussit. Veritus deinde, ne 8 quid inter vim tumultus atque ex concitatione animorum inconsulti certaminis oreretur, ipse, praemisso nuntio ad Marium Blossium, praetorem Campanum, postero die se Capuae futurum, proficiscitur e castris cum modico praesidio. Marius, contione advocata, edicit, ut frequentes 9 cum coniugibus ac liberis obviam irent Hannibali. Ab universis id non obedienter modo, sed enixe, favore etiam vulgi et studio visendi tot iam victoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est. Decius Magius nec obviam egressus 10 est nec, quo timorem aliquem ex conscientia significare posset, privato se tenuit; in foro cum filio clientibusque

paucis otiose inambulavit, trepidante tota civitate ad ex-  
 11 cipiendum Poenum visendumque. Hannibal ingressus  
 urbem senatum extemplo postulat, precantibusque inde  
 primoribus Campanorum, ne quid eo die seriae rei gereret  
 diemque et ipse adventu suo festum laetus ac libens cele-  
 12 braret, quanquam praeceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen,  
 ne quid in principio negaret, visenda urbe magnam partem  
 diei consumpsit.

Ch. 8. § 1. *and was entertained by two rich Capuans. §§ 2-11. During a banquet given to Hannibal, Pacuvius Calavius' son, who had been of Decius Magius' party, secretly informed his father of his intention to assassinate Hannibal.*

1 Deversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, Sthenium Pacu-  
 2 viumque, inclitos nobilitate ac divitiis. Eo Pacuvius  
 Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis  
 3 eius, quae traxerat rem ad Poenos, filium iuvenem ad-  
 duxit, abstractum a Decii Magii latere, cum quo fero-  
 cissime pro Romana societate adversus Punicum foedus  
 steterat, nec eum aut inclinata in partem alteram civitas  
 4 aut patria maiestas sententia depulerat. Huic tum pater  
 iuveni Hannibalem deprecando magis quam purgando  
 placavit, victusque patris precibus lacrimisque etiam ad  
 5 cenam eum cum patre vocari iussit, cui convivio neminem  
 Campanum praeterquam hospites Vibelliumque Tauream,  
 6 insignem bello virum, adhibiturus erat. Epulari coeperunt  
 de die, et convivium non ex more Punico aut militari  
 disciplina esse, sed, ut in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac  
 luxuriosa, omnibus voluptatum illecebris instructum.  
 7 Unus nec dominorum invitatione nec ipsius interdum  
 Hannibalis Calavius filius *perpelli* ad potandum potuit,  
 ipse valetudinem excusans, patre animi quoque eius haud  
 8 mirabilem perturbationem causante. Solis ferme occasu

patrem Calavium ex convivio egressum secutus filius, ubi in secretum (hortus erat posticis aedium partibus) pervenerunt, 'Consilium' inquit 'affero, pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod defecimus ad Hannibalem, impetraturi ab Romanis, sed in multo maiore dignitate et gratia simus Campani, quam unquam fuimus, *futuri*.' Quum mirabundus pater, quidnam id esset consilii, 10 quaereret, toga reiecta ab humero, latus succinctum gladio nudat. 'Iam ego' inquit 'sanguine Hannibalis sanciam 11 Romanum foedus. Te id prius scire volui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur, malles.'

*But he was prevailed upon by his father to abandon his purpose.* Ch. 9.

Quae ubi vidit audivitque senex, velut si iam agendis, 1 quae audiebat, interesset, amens metu 'Per ego te' inquit, 2 'fili, quaecunque iura liberos iungunt parentibus, precor quaesoque, ne ante oculos patris facere et pati omnia infanda velis. Paucae horae sunt, intra quas iurantes per 3 quicquid deorum est, dextrae dextras iungentes, fidem obstrinximus; vis, sacratas fide manus, digressi a colloquio, extemplo in eum armemus? Ab hospitali mensa 4 surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus es ab Hannibale, ut eam ipsam mensam cruentes hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio meo potui placare, filium Hannibali non possum? Sed sit nihil sancti, non fides, 5 non religio, non pietas; audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere ferunt. Unus aggressurus es 6 Hannibalem? Quid illa turba tot liberorum servorumque? quid in unum intenti omnium oculi? quid tot dextrae? torpescentne in amentia illa? Vultum ipsius 7 Hannibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere *nequeunt*, quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? Ut alia

auxilia desint, me ipsum ferire, corpus meum opponentem  
 8 pro corpore Hannibalis, sustinebis? Atqui per meum  
 pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est. Sed hic  
 te deterreri sine potius quam illic vinci. Valeant preces  
 9 apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie valuerunt.' Lacriman-  
 tem inde iuvenem cernens medium complectitur atque  
 osculo haerens non ante precibus abstitit, quam pervicit,  
 ut gladium poneret fidemque daret, nihil facturum tale.  
 10 Tum iuvenis 'Ego quidem' inquit, 'quam patriae debeo  
 pietatem, exsolvam patri. Tuam doleo vicem, cui ter  
 11 proditae patriae sustinendum est crimen, semel, quum  
 defectionis ab Romanis, iterum, quum pacis cum Han-  
 nibale fuisti auctor, tertium hodie, quum restituendae  
 12 Romanis Capuae mora atque impedimentum es. Tu,  
 patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus hanc arcem hostium  
 13 iniit, quoniam parens extorquet, recipe.' Haec quum  
 dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maceriam horti ab-  
 iecit et, quo minus res suspecta esset, se ipse convivio  
 reddidit.

Ch. 10. §§ 1-3. *Next day Hannibal demanded from the Senate the surrender of Decius Magius. §§ 4, 5. They complied with his demand. §§ 6-10. Magius refusing to give an account of himself to Hannibal was thrown into chains, and put into a ship to go to Carthage. §§ 11-13. But a storm carried the vessel to Cyrene, whence Magius was carried before Ptolemy at Alexandria, and the king gave him his liberty.*

1 Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali; ubi  
 prima eius oratio perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias  
 egit Campanis, quod amicitiam suam Romanae societati  
 2 praeposuisent, et inter cetera magnifica promissa pollicitus  
 est, brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde  
 3 cum ceteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. Unum



esse exsortem Punicae amicitiae foederisque secum facti, quem neque esse Campanum neque dici debere, Magium Decium; eum postulare, ut sibi dedatur, ac se praesente de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat. Omnes in eam 4 sententiam ierunt, quanquam magnae parti et vir indignus ea calamitate et haud parvo initio minui videbatur ius libertatis. Egressus curia in templo magistratuum con- 5 sedit, comprehendique Decium Magium atque ante pedes destitutum causam dicere iussit. Qui quum, manente 6 ferocia animi, negaret lege foederis id cogi posse, tum iniectae catenae ducique ante lictorem in castra est iussus. Quoad capite aperto est ductus, contionabundus incessit, 7 ad circumfusam undique multitudinem vociferans: 'Habetis libertatem, Campani, quam petistis. Foro medio, luce clara, videntibus vobis, nulli Campanorum secundus, vinctus ad mortem rapior. Quid violentius capta Capua 8 fieret? Ite obviam Hannibali, exornate urbem, diemque adventus eius consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spectetis.' Haec vociferanti, quum moveri vulgus 9 videretur, obvolutum caput est, ocusque rapi extra portam iussus. Ita in castra perducitur, extemploque impositus in navem et Carthaginem missus, ne, motu aliquo Capuae 10 ex indignitate rei orto, senatum quoque paeniteret dediti principis, et, legatione missa ad repetendum eum, aut negando rem, quam primam peterent, offendendi sibi novi socii, aut tribuendo habendus Capuae esset seditionis ac turbarum auctor. Navem Cyrenas detulit tem- 11 pestas, quae tum in ditione regum erant. Ibi quum Magius ad statuam Ptolomaei regis confugisset, deportatus a custodibus Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum, quum eum 12 docuisset, contra ius foederis vinctum se ab Hannibale esse, vinclis liberatur, permissumque, ut rediret, seu Ro-

13 mam seu Capuam mallet. Nec Magius Capuam sibi tutam dicere et Romam eo tempore, quo inter Romanos Campanosque bellum sit, transfugae magis quam hospitis fore domicilium; nusquam malle quam in regno eius vivere, quem vindicem atque auctorem habeat libertatis.

Ch. 11. §§ 1-6. *Meanwhile Fabius Pictor, who had been sent to Delphi, returned to Rome with the injunctions of the god, §§ 7-12. and Mago went to Carthage with the news of Hannibal's successes.*

- 1 Dum haec geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a Delphis Romam rediit, responsumque ex scripto recitavit. Divi divaeque in eo erant, quibus quoque modo supplicaretur;
- 2 tum: 'Si ita faxitis, Romani, vestrae res meliores facilioresque erunt, magisque ex sententia res publica vestra vobis procedet, victoriaque duelli populi Romani erit.
- 3 Pythio Apollini, re publica vestra bene gesta servataque, et lucris meritis donum mittitote, deque praeda, manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote; lasciviam a vobis prohibetote.'
- 4 Haec ubi ex Graeco carmine interpretata recitavit, tum dixit, se oraculo egressum extemplo his
- 5 omnibus divis rem divinam ture ac vino fecisse, iussumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem adscendere nec ante deponere eam, quam Romam
- 6 pervenisset; se, quaecunque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in ara Apollinis deposuisse. Senatus decrevit, ut eae res divinae supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent.
- 7 Dum haec Romae atque in Italia geruntur, nuntius victoriae ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago Hamilcaris filius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus, sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus Bruttiorum, ut quae-

que deficiebant. Is, quum ei senatus datus esset, res gestas 8  
 in Italia a fratre exponit: cum sex imperatoribus eum,  
 quorum quattuor consules, duo dictator ac magister equi-  
 tum fuerint, cum sex consularibus exercitibus acie con-  
 flixisse; occidisce supra ducenta millia hostium, supra 9  
 quinquaginta cepisse. Ex quattuor consulibus duos occi-  
 disse; ex duobus saucium alterum, alterum toto amisso  
 exercitu vix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse. Ma- 10  
 gistrum equitum, quae consularis potestas sit, fusum  
 fugatumque; dictatorem, quia se in aciem nunquam com-  
 miserit, unicum haberi imperatorem. Bruttios Apulosque, 11  
 partim Samnitium ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Poenos.  
 Capuam, quod caput non Campaniae modo, sed post  
 afflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna Italiae sit, Han-  
 nibali se tradidisse. Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum 12  
 esse grates deis immortalibus agi haberique.

§§ 1, 2. *He shewed a large heap of gold rings from the fingers of* Ch. 12.  
*Roman knights slain at Cannae,* §§ 3-5. *and asked for*  
*reinforcements, money, and supplies.* §§ 6, 7. *Himilco, one*  
*of the Barcine party, took the opportunity of taunting Hanno,*  
 §§ 8-10. *who answered that he still desired peace as much as*  
*ever,* §§ 11, 12. *and could not admire Hannibal's victories*  
*unless they brought the war to an end;* §§ 13-17. *and there*  
*was clearly no immediate prospect of this.*

Ad fidem deinde tam laetarum rerum effundi in ve- 1  
 stibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit,  
 ut metientibus supra tres modios explesse sint quidam  
 auctores; fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus 2  
 fuisse modio. Adiecit deinde verbis, quo maioris cladis  
 indicium esset, neminem nisi equitem, atque eorum ipso-  
 rum primores, id gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis, 3  
 quo propius spem belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni ope  
 iuvandum Hannibalem esse; procul enim ab domo mili-

4 tiam esse, in media hostium terra; magnam vim frumenti  
et pecuniae absumi, et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus  
delesse, ita victoris etiam copias parte aliqua minuisse;  
5 mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mittendam in sti-  
pendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene meritis de  
nomine Punico militibus.

6 Secundum haec dicta Magonis laetis omnibus, Himilco,  
vir factionis Barcinae, locum Hannonis increpandi esse  
ratus, 'Quid est, Hanno?' inquit; 'etiam nunc paenitet  
7 belli suscepti adversus Romanos? Iube dedi Hanniba-  
lem; veta in tam prosperis rebus grates deis immortalibus  
agi; audiamus Romanum senatorem in Carthaginensium  
8 curia.' Tum Hanno: 'Tacuissem hodie, patres con-  
scripti, ne quid in communi omnium gaudio, minus laetum  
9 quod esset vobis, loquerer; nunc interroganti senatori,  
paeniteatne me adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli, si  
reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, quorum alte-  
rum est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum suae.  
10 Respondeo' inquit 'Himilconi, non desisse paenitere me  
belli, neque desitutum ante invictum vestrum imperatorem  
incusare, quam finitum aliqua tolerabili condicione bellum  
videro; nec mihi pacis antiquae desiderium ulla alia res  
11 quam pax nova finiet. Itaque ista, quae modo Mago  
iactavit, Himilconi ceterisque Hannibalis satellitibus iam  
laeta sunt; mihi possunt laeta esse, quia res bello bene  
gestae, si volumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis aequiorem  
12 dabunt; nam si praetermittimus hoc tempus, quo magis  
dare quam accipere possumus videri pacem, vereor, ne  
13 haec quoque laetitia luxuriet nobis ac vana evadat. Quae  
tamen nunc quoque qualis est? Occidi exercitus ho-  
stium; mittite milites mihi. Quid aliud rogares, si esses  
14 victus? Hostium cepi bina castra, praedae videlicet plena

et commeatuum; frumentum et pecuniam date. Quid aliud, si spoliatus, si exutus castris esses, peteres? Et ne 15 omnia ipse mirer, (mihi quoque enim, quoniam respondi Himilconi, interrogare ius fasque est) velim seu Himilco seu Mago respondeat, quum ad internecionem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit, constetque in defectione totam Italiam esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus 16 defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit.' Quum 17 utrumque Mago negasset, 'Hostium quidem ergo' inquit 'adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidve spei habeat, scire velim.'

§§ 1, 2. *In fact the war was as far from completion as ever, Ch. 13.*

§§ 3-5. *and it would be wise, instead of sending reinforcements and supplies, to make an advantageous peace before it was too late. §§ 6-8. Hanno's words had little effect, and it was decreed to send money and reinforcements to Hannibal.*

Quum id nescire Mago diceret, 'Nihil facilius scitu 1 est' inquit. 'Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? Ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romae factam esse allatum ad vos est?' Quum id quo- 2 que negasset, 'Bellum igitur' inquit 'tam integrum habemus, quam habuimus, qua die Hannibal in Italiam est transgressus. Quam varia victoria priore Punico bello 3 fuerit, plerique, qui meminerimus, supersumus. Nunquam terra marique magis prosperae res nostrae visae sunt, quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt; Lutatio et Postumio consulibus devicti ad Aegates insulas 4 sumus. Quod si, id quod di omen avertant, nunc quoque fortuna aliquid variaverit, tum pacem speratis, quum vincemur, quam nunc, quum vincimus, dat nemo? Ego, si quis de pace consulet seu deferenda hostibus seu acci-

pienda, habeo, quid sententiae dicam; si de iis, quae Mago postulat, refertis, nec victoribus mitti attinere puto, et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe multo minus censeo mittenda esse.'

- 6 Haud multos movit Hannonis oratio; nam et similtas cum familia Barcina leviolem auctorem faciebat, et occupati animi praesenti laetitia nihil, quo vanius fieret gaudium suum, auribus admittebant, debellatumque mox fore, si  
7 anniti paulum voluissent, rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu fit senatus consultum, ut Hannibali quattuor millia Numidarum in supplementum mitterentur et quadraginta  
8 elephanti et argentit alenta † dictatorque cum Magone in Hispaniam praemissus est ad conducenda viginti millia peditum, quattuor equitum, quibus exercitus, qui in Italia quique in Hispania erant, supplerentur.

**Ch. 14.** §§ 1-4. *But the decree was executed with a remissness in striking contrast to the energy of the Romans, who even armed the criminals and debtors in the prisons.* §§ 5-7. *Hannibal moved to Nola, which he hoped would be delivered up to him by the democratical party within.* §§ 8-11. *The Senate, having gained time by an artifice, sent to Marcellus at Casilinum asking him to come and help them.* §§ 12, 13. *Accordingly he came.*

- 1 Ceterum haec, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque gesta; Romanos praeter insitam industriam animis for-  
2 tuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nec consul ulli rei, quae per eum agenda esset, deerat, et dictator M. Iunius Pera, rebus divinis perfectis latoque, ut solet, ad populum, ut equum escendere liceret, praeter duas urbanas legiones, quae principio anni a consulibus conscriptae fuerant, et servorum dilectum cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico  
3 collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatae rei publicae auxilium, quum honesta utilibus cedunt, descendit, edixitque,

qui capitalem fraudem ausi quique pecuniae iudicati in  
vinculis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fierent, eos  
noxa pecuniaque sese exsolvi iussurum. Ea sex millia 4  
hominum Gallicis spoliis, quae triumpho C. Flaminius  
translata erant, armavit, itaque cum viginti quinque milli-  
bus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur.

Hannibal, Capua recepta, quum iterum Neapolitano- 5  
rum animos partim spe, partim metu nequicquam tentas-  
set, in agrum Nolanum exercitum traducit, ut non hostiliter 6  
statim, quia non desperabat voluntariam deditionem, ita,  
si morarentur spem, nihil eorum, quae pati aut timere  
possent, praetermissurus. Senatus, ac maxime primores 7  
eius, in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs nova-  
rum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse metumque  
agrorum populationis et patienda in obsidione multa gravia  
indignaque proponere animo; neque auctores defectionis  
deerant. Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam 8  
tenderent, resisti multitudini concitatae non posse, secunda  
simulando dilationem mali inveniunt. Placere enim sibi 9  
defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant; quibus autem con-  
ditionibus in foedus amicitiamque novam transeant,  
parum constare. Ita spatio sumpto legatos propere ad 10  
praetorem Romanum Marcellum Claudium, qui Casilini  
cum exercitu erat, mittunt docentque, quanto in discrimi-  
ne sit Nolana res: agrum Hannibalis esse et Poenorum,  
urbem extemplo futuram, ni subveniatur; concedendo 11  
plebei senatum, ubi velint, defecturos se, ne deficere prae-  
festinarent, effecisse. Marcellus, collaudatis Nolanis, 12  
eadem simulatione extrahi rem in suum adventum iussit;  
interim celari, quae secum acta essent, spemque omnem  
auxilii Romani. Ipse a Casilino Caiatiam petit, atque 13  
inde Vulturno amni traiecto, per agrum Saticulanum

Trebianumque super Suessulam per montes Nolam pervenit.

Ch. 15. §§ 1, 2. *Just before his arrival Hannibal went towards Naples, but finding that it was impossible for him to gain possession of that city, he went to Nuceria, § 3. which he at last starved into surrender. §§ 4-6. None of the inhabitants would accept his offer of service under him. The city was destroyed. §§ 7-15. On the other hand the generosity of Marcellus was able to win back an influential young Nolan to the allegiance of Rome.*

- 1 Sub adventum praetoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo cursus navibus tutus ex
- 2 Africa esset; ceterum postquam Neapolim a praefecto Romano teneri accepit (M. Iunius Silanus erat, ab ipsis Neapolitanis accitus), Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, ommissa
- 3 petit Nuceriam. Eam quum aliquamdiu circumsedisset, saepe vi, saepe sollicitandis nequicquam nunc plebe, nunc principibus, fame demum in deditionem accepit, pactus, ut
- 4 inermes cum singulis abirent vestimentis. Deinde, ut qui a principio mitis omnibus Italicis praeter Romanos videri vellet, praemia atque honores, qui remanserint ac militare
- 5 secum voluissent, proposuit. Nec ea spe quemquam tenuit; dilapsi omnes, quocunque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit, per Campaniae urbes, maxime Nolam Nea-
- 6 polimque. Quum ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque, Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nuceriae praeda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa.
- 7 Nolam Marcellus non sui magis fiducia praesidii quam voluntate principum habebat; plebs timebatur, et ante omnes L. Bantius, quem conscientia tentatae defectionis



ac metus a praetore Romano nunc ad prodicionem patriae, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad transfugiendum stimulabat. Erat iuvenis acer et sociorum ea tempestate 8 prope nobilissimus eques. Seminecem eum ad Cannas in acervo caesorum corporum inventum curatumque benigne, etiam cum donis Hannibal domum remiserat. Ob eius 9 gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in ius dicionemque dare voluerat Poeno, anxiumque eum et sollicitum cura novandi res praetor cernebat. Ceterum quum aut poena cohiben- 10 dus esset aut beneficio conciliandus, sibi assumpsisse quam hosti ademisse fortem ac strenuum maluit socium, accitumque ad se benigne appellat: Multos eum invidos 11 inter populares habere, inde existimatu facile esse, quod nemo civis Nolanus sibi indicaverit, quam multa eius egregia facinora militaria essent; sed qui in Romanis 12 militaverit castris, non posse obscuram eius virtutem esse. Multos sibi, qui cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre, qui vir esset ille, quaeque et quoties pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi Romani adisset, utique Cannensi proelio non 13 prius pugna abstiterit, quam prope exsanguis ruina superincidentium virorum, equorum armorumque sit oppressus. ‘Itaque macte virtute esto’ inquit. ‘Apud me tibi omnis 14 honos atque omne praemium erit, et quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties eam rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse.’ Laetoque iuveni promissis equum eximium 15 dona dat bigatosque quingentos quaestorem numerare iubet; lictoribus imperat, ut eum se adire, quoties velit, patiantur.

Ch. 16. §§ 1-4. *Hannibal now returned to Nola, and for a long time skirmishes took place between his soldiers and those of Marcellus. §§ 5-7. But finding that the democratical party were negotiating with Hannibal, Marcellus thought it time to risk a battle. §§ 8-14. By a well-timed sally he surprised the Carthaginians, §§ 15, 16. and gained a success, which, if a small one, was yet important as being in a sense the turning point of the war.*

- 1    Hac comitate Marcelli ferocis iuvenis animus adeo est mollitus, ut nemo inde sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius iuverit.
- 2    Quum Hannibal ad portas esset (Nolam enim rursus a Nuceria movit castra) plebesque Nolana de integro ad
- 3 defectionem spectaret, Marcellus sub adventum hostium intra muros se recepit, non castris metuens, sed ne prodendae urbis occasionem nimis multis in eam imminenti-
- 4 bus daret. Instrui deinde utrinque acies coeptae, Romanorum pro moenibus Nolae, Poenorum ante castra sua. Proelia hinc parva inter urbem castraque et vario eventu fiebant, quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere provo-
- 5 cantes nec dare signum universae pugnae volebant. In hac quotidiana iam duorum exercituum statione principes
- 6 Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello, nocturna colloquia inter plebem ac Poenos fieri, statutumque esse, ut, quum Romana acies egressa portis staret, impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis
- 7 Poenum inde pro Romano acciperent. Haec ubi nuntiata Marcello sunt, collaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam aliqui motus in urbe oreretur, fortunam
- 8 pugnae experiri statuit. Ad tres portas in hostes versas tripertito exercitum instruxit; impedimenta subsequi iussit, calones lixasque et invalidos milites vallum

ferre. Media porta robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis novos milites levemque armaturam ac sociorum equites statuit. Nolani muros portasque 9 adire vetiti, subsidiaque destinata impedimentis data, ne occupatis proelio legionibus in ea impetus fieret. Ita instructi intra portas stabant. Hannibali sub signis, id 10 quod per aliquot dies fecerat, ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse, quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egrederetur nec armatus quisquam in muris esset. Ratus deinde, prodita colloquia esse, metuque resides 11 factos, partem militum in castra remittit iussos propere apparatus omnem oppugnandae urbis in primam aciem afferre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quisque 12 ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patefacta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu, in hostem erumpere iubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem 13 mediam intulerant, quum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere. Addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia turba custo- 14 diae impedimentorum apposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Poenis ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerit. Vix equidem ausim affirmare, quod quidam 15 auctores sunt, duo millia et octingentos hostium caesos, non plus quingentis Romanorum amissis; sed, sive 16 tanta sive minor victoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta est; non vinci enim ab Hannibale † vincentibus difficilior fuit quam postea vincere.

Ch. 17. §§ 1-3. *Hannibal then went to Acerrae, and Marcellus punished with death those Nolans who had been intriguing with him.*  
 §§ 4-6. *The people of Acerrae, finding resistance hopeless, abandoned their city.* § 7. *Thence Hannibal moved to Casilinum,* §§ 8-12. *of which the northern division was held by soldiers from Praeneste and Perugia.*

- 1 Hannibal, spe potiundae Nolae adempta, quum Acerras recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibusque dispositis, ne quis egrederetur, quaestionem in foro de iis, qui clam in colloquiis hostium fuerant, habuit.
- 2 Supra septuaginta damnatos prodicionis securi percussit,
- 3 bonaque eorum iussit publica populi Romani esse, et, summa rerum senatui tradita, cum exercitu omni profectus
- 4 supra Suessulam castris positus consedit. Poenus Acerras primum ad voluntariam deditionem conatus pellicere, postquam obstinatos in fide videt, obsidere atque oppugnare parat. Ceterum Acerranis plus animi quam virium
- 5 erat; itaque desperata tutela urbis, ut circumvallari moenia viderunt, priusquam continuarentur hostium opera, per intermissa munimenta neglectasque custodias silentio
- 6 noctis dilapsi, per vias inviaque, qua quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Campaniae, quas satis certum erat non mutasse fidem, perfugerunt.
- 7 Hannibal, Acerris direptis atque incensis, quum a Casino dictatorem Romanum legionesque † nimis accipi nuntiassent, ne quid, tam propinquis hostium castris, Capuae quoque moveretur, exercitum ad Casilinum ducit.
- 8 Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Praenestini habebant cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem
- 9 audita Cannensis clades contulerat. Hi, non confecto Praeneste ad diem dilectu, serius profecti domo quum Casilinum ante famam adversae pugnae venissent et, aliis aggregantibus sese Romanis sociisque, profecti a

Casilino quum satis magno agmine irent, avertit eos retro Casilinum nuntius Cannensis pugnae. Ibi quum 10 dies aliquot, suspecti Campanis timentesque, cavendis ac struendis in vicem insidiis traduxissent, ut de Capuae defectione agi accipique Hannibalem satis pro certo habuere, interfectis nocte oppidanis, partem urbis, quae cis Vulturum est (eo enim dividitur amni), occupavere, idque praesidii Casilini habebant Romani. Additur et 11 Perusina cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta, eodem nuntio, quo Praenestini paucos ante dies, Casilinum compulsi. Et satis ferme armatorum ad tam exigua 12 moenia et flumine altera parte cincta tuenda erat; penuria frumenti, nimium etiam ut videretur hominum, efficiebat.

§§ 1-4. *Two attacks on Casilinum having been repulsed by its* Ch. 18.  
*defenders, §§ 5-8. Hannibal encamped before the city and*  
*tried to take it by storm. § 9. But failing to do so he left*  
*a small force to blockade it, and went into winter quarters at*  
*Capua. §§ 10-16. The luxury of that voluptuous city seriously*  
*injured the efficiency of Hannibal's army.*

Hannibal quum iam inde haud procul esset, Gaetulos 1 cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit ac primo, si fiat colloquii copia, verbis benignis ad portas aperiundas praesidiumque accipiendum pellicere iubet, si in pertinacia perstent, vi rem gerere ac tentare, si qua parte invadere urbem possit. Ubi ad moenia accessere, quia 2 silentium erat, solitudo visa; metuque concessum barbarus ratus moliri portas et claustra refringere parat, quum 3 patefactis repente portis cohortes duae, ad id ipsum instructae intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt stragemque hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsis, Maharbal cum 4 maiori robore virorum missus nec ipse eruptionem

- 5 cohortium sustinuit. Postremo Hannibal, castris ante ipsa moenia positis, parvam urbem parvumque praesidium summa vi atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat, ac dum instat lacessitque, corona undique circumdatis moenibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e  
6 muro turribusque ictos amisit. Semel ultro erumpentes agmine elephantorum opposito prope interclusit, trepidosque compulit in urbem, satis multis ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis; plures cecidissent, ni nox proelio  
7 intervenisset. Postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos  
8 admonens universosque. Inde vineae quoque coeptae agi cuniculique; nec ad varios conatus hostium aut vis  
9 ulla aut ars deerat sociis Romanorum. Propugnacula adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam coeptis obviam ire, donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit, castrisque communitis ac praesidio modico imposito, ne ommissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit.
- 10 Ibi partem maiorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, adversus omnia humana mala saepe ac diu duratum,  
11 bonis, inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque, quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicae, et eo impensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in  
12 eas se merserant. Somnus enim et vinum et epulae et scorta balineae et otium consuetudine in dies blandius ita enervaverunt corpora animosque, ut magis deinde praeteritae victoriae eos quam praesentes tutarentur vires,  
13 maiusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium milita-

rium haberetur, quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset; illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademisse ad vincendum. Itaque hercule, velut si cum 14 alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam pristinae disciplinae tenuit. Nam et redierunt plerique scortis 15 impliciti et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberi coepti sunt, viaque et alius militaris labor exceperit, tironum modo 16 corporibus animisque deficiebant, et deinde per omne aestivorum tempus magna pars sine com meatibus ab signis dilabebantur, neque aliae latebrae quam Capua desertoribus erant.

§§ 1-7. *With the beginning of spring Hannibal appeared again before Casilinum. The garrison had been reduced to a pitiable condition, and Gracchus could not relieve them, because in the absence of his dictator he was not allowed to fight a battle; §§ 8-12. so that it was only by stratagems that he was able to send in some provisions. § 13. The sufferings of the garrison continued. §§ 14-18. Yet their determined resistance induced Hannibal to treat with them, and a capitulation was effected.* Ch. 19.

Ceterum mitescente iam hieme, educto ex hibernis 1 milite, Casilinum redit, ubi, quanquam ab oppugnatione 2 cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua oppidanos praesidiumque ad ultimum inopiae adduxerat. Castris Ro- 3 manis Ti. Sempronius praeerat, dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa profecto Romam. Marcellum et 4 ipsum cupientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Vulturnus amnis inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum atque Aceranorum tenebant, Campanos timentium, si praesidium Romanum abscessisset. Gracchus assidens tantum Casi- 5 lino, quia praedictum erat dictatoris, ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil movebat, quanquam, quae facile

omnem patientiam vincerent, nuntiabantur a Casilino;  
6 nam et praecipitasse se quosdam non tolerantes famem  
constabat, et stare inermes in muris, nuda corpora ad  
7 missilium telorum ictus praebentes. Ea aegre patiens  
Gracchus, quum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris  
iniussu auderet (pugnandum autem esse, si palam  
frumentum importaret, videbat) neque clam importandi  
8 spes esset, farre ex agris circa undique convecto quum  
complura dolia complisset, nuntium ad magistratum  
Casilinum misit, ut exciperent dolia, quae amnis deferret.  
9 Insequenti nocte, intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab  
nuntio Romano factam, dolia medio missa amni deflux-  
10 erunt; aequaliterque inter omnes frumentum divisum. Id  
postero quoque die ac tertio factum est; nocte et mitte-  
bantur et perveniebant; eo custodias hostium fallebant.  
11 Imbribus deinde continuis citatior solito amnis transverso  
vertice dolia impulit ad ripam, quam hostes servabant.  
Ibi haerentia inter obnata ripis salicta conspiciuntur,  
nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et deinde intentiore cus-  
todia cautum, ne quid falleret Vulturno ad urbem missum.  
12 Nuces tamen fusae ab Romanis castris, quum medio  
amni ad Casilinum defluerent, cratibus excipiebantur.  
13 Postremo ad id ventum inopiae est, ut lora detractasque  
scutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere cona-  
rentur nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent et omne  
herbarum radicumque genus aggeribus infimis muri  
14 eruerent. Et quum hostes obarassent, quicquid herbidi  
terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen iniecerunt,  
ut Hannibal ‘Eone usque, dum ea nascantur, ad Casilinum  
15 sessurus sum?’ exclamaret; et qui nullam antea pactio-  
nem auribus admiserat, tum demum agi secum est passus  
16 de redemptione liberorum capitum. Septunces auri in



singulos pretium convenit. Fide accepta tradiderunt sese. Donec omne aurum persolutum est, in vinculis habiti; tum remissi summa cum fide. Id verius est 17 quam ab equite in abeuntes immisso interfectos. Praenestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta, qui in praesidio fuerunt, *haud* minus dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit; ceteri incolumes Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio (scriba is antea fuerat) redierunt. Statua eius indicio fuit, Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, 18 amicta toga, velato capite, [et tria signa] cum titulo lamnae aeneae inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus, qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint, votum solvisse. Idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positus fuit subiectus.

- § 1. *Hannibal restored the town to its original possessors, §§ 2, 3. Ch. 20. while the brave defenders were rewarded by the Romans.*  
 §§ 4-10. *The people of Petelia, though Rome was unable to defend them, determined to make a gallant resistance against their enemies.*

Casilinum oppidum redditum Campanis est, firmatum 1 septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis praesidio, ne, ubi Poenus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent. Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipen- 2 dium et quinquennii militiae vacationem decrevit; civitate quum donarentur ob virtutem, non mutaverunt. Peru- 3 sinorum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum monumento ullo est illustratus nec decreto Romanorum.

Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Bruttiiis manse- 4 rant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses modo, qui regionem obtinebant, sed Bruttii quoque ceteri ob separata ab se consilia oppugnabant. Quibus quum obsistere 5 malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam ad praesidium petendum miserunt. Quorum preces lacrimaeque (in

questus enim flebiles, quum sibimet ipsi consulere iussi sunt, sese in vestibulo curiae profuderunt) ingentem  
 6 misericordiam patribus ac populo moverunt, consultique iterum a M. Aemilio praetore patres, circumspectis omnibus imperii viribus, fateri coacti, nihil iam longinquis sociis in se praesidii esse, redire domum, fideque ad ultimum expleta, consulere sibimet ipsos in reliquum *pro*  
 7 praesenti fortuna iusserunt. Haec postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente maeror pavorque senatum eorum cepit, ut pars profugiendi, qua quisque  
 8 posset, ac deserendae urbis auctores essent, pars, quando deserti a veteribus sociis essent, adiungendi se ceteris  
 9 Bruttiis ac per eos dedendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen ea pars, quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de integro censuit. Relata postero die per minorem trepidationem re, tenuerunt optimates, ut, convectis omnibus ex agris, urbem ac muros firmarent.

Ch. 21. §§ 1-5. *The Roman treasury could give no funds to the propraetors of Sicily and Sardinia, § 6. and measures had to be taken to remedy the scarcity of money in the city. § 7. A temple was dedicated to Concord, and three pontiffs were elected.*

1 Per idem fere tempus litterae ex Sicilia Sardiniaque Romam allatae. Priores ex Sicilia T. Otacilii propraetoris in senatu recitatae sunt: P. Furium praetorem cum classe ex Africa Lilybaeum venisse; ipsum graviter saucium in discrimine ultimo vitae esse; militi ac navalibus sociis neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari  
 2 neque, unde detur, esse; magnopere suadere, ut quam primum ea mittantur, sibi, si ita videatur, ex novis  
 3 praetoribus successorem mittant. Eademque ferme de stipendio frumentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula propraetore ex Sardinia scripta. Responsum utrique, non esse,

unde mitteretur, iussique ipsi classibus atque exercitibus suis consulere. T. Otacilius ad unicum subsidium populi 5 Romani, Hieronem, legatos quum misisset, in stipendium quanti argenti opus fuit, et sex mensum frumentum accepit; Cornelio in Sardinia civitates sociae benigne contulerunt. Et Romae quoque propter penuriam argenti 6 triumviri mensarii rogatione M. Minucii tribuni plebis facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. Et duumviri creati 7 M. et C. Atilii aedem Concordiae, quam L. Manlius praetor voverat, dedicaverunt; et tres pontifices creati, Q. Caecilius Metellus et Q. Fabius Maximus et Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantinii demortui et L. Aemilii Pauli consulis et Q. Aelii Paeti, qui ceciderant pugna Cannensi.

§§ 1-5. *The Senate now met to consider plans for filling up their vacancies. A proposal made by Carvilius to elect distinguished Latins* §§ 6-9. *was treated with universal scorn. §§ 10, 11. It was resolved to elect a dictator for the purpose of filling up the Senate, and the consul Varro, summoned from Apulia, nominated M. Fabius Buteo.* Ch. 22.

Quum cetera, quae continuis cladibus fortuna minu- 1 erat, quantum consiliis humanis assequi poterant, patres explessent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiae paucitatemque convenientium ad publicum consilium respexerunt; neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Flaminium 3 censores senatus lectus fuerat, quum tantum senatorum adversae pugnae, ad hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absumpsissent. Quum de ea re M. Aemilius 4 praetor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum profecto iam ad exercitum, exposcentibus cunctis rettulisset, tum Sp.

Carvilius quum longa oratione non solum inopiam *senatorum*, sed paucitatem etiam civium, ex quibus in patres  
5 legerentur, conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa et iungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano magnopere se suadere dixit, ut ex singulis populis Latinorum binis senatoribus, *quibus* patres Romani censuissent, civitas daretur, atque *ei* in demortuorum locum in senatum  
6 legerentur. Eam sententiam haud aequioribus animis quam ipsorum quondam postulatum Latinorum patres  
7 audierunt; et quum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset, et praecipue T. Manlius esse etiam nunc eius stirpis virum diceret, ex qua quondam in Capitolio consul  
minatus esset, quem Latinum in curia vidisset, eum sua  
8 manu se interfectorum, Q. Fabius Maximus nunquam rei ullius alieniore tempore mentionem factam in senatu dicit, quam inter tam suspensos sociorum animos incertam-  
9 que fidem id iactum, quod insuper sollicitaret eos; eam unius hominis temerariam vocem silentio omnium exstinguendam esse, et, si quid unquam arcani sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit, id omnium maxime tegendum, occulendum, obliviscendum, pro non dicto habendum  
10 esse. Ita eius rei oppressa mentio est. Dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset vetustissimusque ex iis, qui viverent, censoriis esset, creari placuit, qui senatum legeret, acciri-  
que C. Terentium consulem ad dictatorem dicendum  
11 iusserunt. Qui ex Apulia, relicto ibi praesidio, quum magnis itineribus Romam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M. Fabium Buteonem ex senatus consulto sine magistro equitum dictatorem in sex menses dixit.

§§ 1-8. *He fulfilled his invidious task with moderation and despatch, Ch. 23. and then promptly resigned his office.* § 9. *Varro returned to his army.*

Is ubi cum lictoribus in rostra escendit, neque duos 1  
dictatores tempore uno, quod nunquam antea factum  
esset, probare se dixit, neque dictatorem [se] sine magis- 2  
tro equitum, nec censoriam vim uni permissam et eidem  
iterum, nec dictatori, nisi rei gerendae causa creato, in  
sex menses datum imperium. Quae immoderata forsā 3  
tempus ac necessitas fecerit, iis se modum impositurum;  
nam neque senatu quemquam moturum ex iis, quos C.  
Flaminius, L. Aemilius censores in senatum legissent;  
transcribi tantum recitarique eos iussurum, ne penes unum 4  
hominem iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac moribus  
senatoris fuerit; et ita in demortuorum locum sublectu-  
rum, ut ordo ordini, non homo homini praelatus videretur.  
Recitato vetere senatu, inde primos in demortuorum 5  
locum legit, qui post L. Aemilium, C. Flaminium censores  
curulem magistratum cepissent necdum in senatum lecti  
essent, ut quisque eorum primus creatus erat; tum legit,  
qui aediles, tribuni plebis quaestoresve fuerant; tum ex 6  
iis, qui magistratus *non* cepissent, qui spolia ex hoste fixa  
domi haberent aut civicam coronam accepissent. Ita 7  
centum septuaginta septem cum ingenti approbatione  
hominum in senatum lectis, extemplo se magistratu abdi-  
cavit, privatusque de rostris descendit, lictoribus abire 8  
iussis, turbaeque se immiscuit privatas agentium res,  
tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi sui causa popu-  
lum de foro abduceret. Neque tamen elanguit cura homi-  
num ea mora, frequentesque eum domum deduxerunt.  
Consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum rediit, non facto 9  
certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe retineretur.

Ch. 24. §§ 1-5. *The dictator, M. Junius Pera, was then summoned to Rome to hold the consular elections. There were elected his Master of the Horse, Gracchus, and L. Postumius, who was then commanding in Gaul. §§ 6-13. But immediately the terrible news came of the destruction of Postumius and his army.*

- 1 Postero die consultus a M. Pomponio praetore senatus decrevit, dictatori scribendum, uti, si e re publica censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret cum magistro
- 2 equitum et praetore M. Marcello, ut ex iis praesentibus noscere patres possent, quo statu res publica esset, consiliaque ex rebus caperent. Qui acciti erant, omnes
- 3 venerunt, relictis legatis, qui legionibus praeessent. Dictator de se pauca ac modice locutus, in magistrum equitum Ti. Sempronium Gracchum magnam partem gloriae vertit, comitiaque edixit, quibus L. Postumius tertium absens, qui tum Galliam provinciam obtinebat, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, qui tum magister equitum et aedilis
- 4 curulis erat, consules creantur. Praetores inde creati M. Valerius Laevinus iterum, App. Claudius Pulcher, Q.
- 5 Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Mucius Scaevola. Dictator, creatis magistratibus, Teanum in hiberna ad exercitum redit, relicto magistro equitum Romae, qui, quum post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de exercitibus scribendis comparandisque in annum patres consuleret.
- 6 Quum eae res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata, aliam super aliam cumulate in eum annum fortuna, L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia ipsum atque
- 7 exercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta (Litanam Galli vocabant), qua exercitum traducturus erat. Eius silvae dextra
- 8 laevaue circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt, ut im-
- 8 motae starent, momento levi impulsae acciderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius, sociumque ab supero mari tantum conscripserat, ut viginti quinque millia arma-

torum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremae 9  
 silvae quum circumsedissent, ubi intravit agmen saltum,  
 tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt; quae alia  
 in aliam, instabilem per se ac male haerentem, incidentes  
 ancipiti strage arma, viros, equos obruerunt, ut vix decem  
 homines effugerent. Nam quum exanimati plerique essent 10  
 arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram multi-  
 tudinem, inopinato malo trepidam, Galli, saltum omnem  
 armati circumsedentes, interfecerunt, paucis e tanto numero  
 captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes, obsesso ante ab hos-  
 tibus ponte, interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni vi, ne 11  
 caperetur, dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque  
 praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo, quod sanctissimum  
 est apud eos, intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis 12  
 est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo  
 sollemnibus libarent, poculumque idem sacerdotibus ac  
 templi antistitibus. Praeda quoque haud minor Gallis 13  
 quam victoria fuit; nam etsi magna pars animalium strage  
 silvae oppressa erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipa-  
 tum fuga est, stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem  
 inventae sunt.

§§ 1-6. *Gracchus convened the Senate, and on his advice they gave* Ch. 25.  
*their whole attention to the war against Hannibal, deferring*  
*their revenge upon the Gauls. §§ 7-11. Accordingly they*  
*passed several resolutions for next year's campaign.*

Hac nuntiata clade, quum per dies multos in tanto pa- 1  
 vore fuisset civitas, ut, tabernis clausis, velut nocturna  
 solitudine per urbem acta, senatus aedilibus negotium 2  
 daret, ut urbem circumirent aperirique tabernas et maesti-  
 tiae publicae speciem urbi demi iuberent, tum Ti. Sempro-  
 nius senatum habuit, consolatusque patres est et adhortatus  
 ne, qui Cannensi ruinae non succubuissent, ad minores 3

calamitates animos summitterent: quod ad Carthaginenses hostes Hannibalemque attineret, prospera modo  
 4 essent, sicut speraret futura, Gallicum bellum et omittit  
 tuto et differri posse, ultionemque eam fraudis in deorum  
 ac populi Romani potestate fore; de hoste Poeno exerciti-  
 busque, per quos id bellum gereretur, consultandum atque  
 5 agitandum. Ipse primum, quid peditum equitumque, quid  
 civium, quid sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit;  
 6 tum Marcellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit. Quid  
 in Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset, a peritis quaesi-  
 tum est, nec, unde duo consulares exercitus satis firmi ad  
 tantum bellum efficerentur, inibatur ratio. Itaque Galliam,  
 quanquam stimulabat iusta ira, omitti eo anno placuit.  
 7 Exercitus dictatoris consuli decretus est. De exercitu M.  
 Marcelli, qui eorum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in Siciliam  
 eos traduci atque ibi militare, donec in Italia bellum esset,  
 8 placuit. Eodem ex dictatoris legionibus reici militem  
 minimi quemque roboris, nullo praestituto militiae tempore,  
 9 nisi quod stipendiorum legitimorum esset. Duae legiones  
 urbanae alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumii suffectus  
 esset, decretae sunt, eumque, quum primum salvis auspi-  
 10 ciis posset, creari placuit. Legiones praeterea duas primo  
 quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri, atque inde consulem,  
 cui legiones urbanae evenissent, militum sumere quantum  
 11 opus esset. C. Terentio consuli prorogari in annum  
 imperium neque de eo exercitu, quem ad praesidium  
 Apuliae haberet, quicquam minui.

Ch. 26. §§ 1-3. *Meanwhile in Spain, Hasdrubal, at last reinforced from Carthage, was preparing to attack the Romans, §§ 4-II. when he was called away by an insurrection among the Tartesii.*

1 Dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo



segnius in Hispania bellum erat, sed ad eam diem magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se par- 2  
titis copias, ut Gnaeus terra, Publius navibus rem gereret, Hasdrubal, Poenorum imperator, neutri parti virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste intervallo ac locis tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quattuor millia peditum, mille equites in supplementum missi ex Africa sunt. Tum 3  
refecta tandem spe, castra propius hostem movit, classem- que et ipse instrui pararique iubet ad insulas maritimamque oram tutandam. In ipso impetu movendarum de in- 4  
tegro rerum perculit eum praefectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter increpiti nunquam deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginiensium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfugae 5  
motum in Tartesiorum gente, desciverantque iis auctoribus urbes aliquot; una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat. In eam 6  
gentem versum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium pro captae ante dies paucos urbis moenibus Chalbum, nobilem Tartesiorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris se tenentem, aggredi statuit. Praemissa igitur levi armatura, quae eliceret 7  
hostes ad certamen, equitum partem ad populandum per agros passim dimisit *et* ut palantes exciperent. Simul et 8  
ad castra tumultus erat et per agros fugaque et caedes; deinde undique diversis itineribus quum in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor, ut non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum esset, sed etiam ad lacessendum proelio hostem. Erumpunt igitur 9  
agmine e castris, tripudiantes more suo, repentinaque eorum audacia terrorem hosti paulo ante ultro lacessenti ncussit. Itaque et ipse Hasdrubal in collem satis arduum, 10  
flumine etiam obiecto tutum, copias subducit, et praemis-

- sam levem armaturam equitesque palatos eodem recipit, nec aut colli aut flumini satis fidens, castra vallo permunit.
- 11 In hoc alterno pavore certamina aliquot sunt contracta; nec Numida Hispano eques par fuit, nec iaculator Maurus caetrato, velocitate pari, robore animi viriumque aliquantum praestanti.

**Ch. 27.** §§ 1-8. *At last, after a decisive victory, he obtained their submission. § 9. Orders now came from Carthage that Hasdrubal was to go to Italy, and the news made the Spaniards again think of revolt. §§ 10-12. This Hasdrubal represented in his despatches, and insisted that Spain must not be left undefended.*

- 1 Postquam neque elicere Poenum ad certamen obversati castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis  
2 erat, urbem Ascuam, quo fines hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum commeatusque alios convexerat, vi  
3 capiunt omnique circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in  
negligentiam ex re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus milites, ut palatos sine signis hostes  
4 aggrederentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad  
castra. Quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes ex  
5 speculis stationibusque attulere, ad arma conclamatum est.  
Ut quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio, sine signo, incompositi, inordinati in proelium ruunt. Iam primi conseruerant manus, quum alii catervatim currerent, alii nondum e  
6 castris exissent; tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem; deinde rari in confertos illati, quum paucitas parum  
tuta esset, respicere alii alios et undique pulsi coire in  
7 orbem, et dum *corpora* corporibus applicant armaque armis iungunt, in artum compulsi, quum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium cincti ad multum

diei caeduntur; exigua pars eruptione facta silvas ac 8 montes petit. Parique terrore et castra sunt deserta et universa gens postero die in deditionem venit.

Nec diu in pacto mansit; nam subinde ab Carthagine 9 allatum est, ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italiam exercitum duceret, quae vulgata res per Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit. Itaque Has- 10 drubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit, indicans, quanto fama profectionis suae damno fuisset; si vero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum transiret, Romanorum Hispaniam fore; nam praeterquam quod nec praesidium nec 11 ducem haberet, quem relinqueret pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos, quibus vix aequis viribus resisti posset. Itaque si ulla Hispaniae cura esset, successorem sibi cum 12 valido exercitu mitterent; cui *ut* omnia prospere evenirent, non tamen otiosam provinciam fore.

§§ 1-4. *So Himilco was sent to take his place,* §§ 5, 6. *and Has-* **Ch. 28.**  
*drubal marched to the Ebro,* §§ 7-12. *where the Scipios*  
*prepared to resist him.*

Eae litterae quanquam primo admodum moverunt sena- 1 tum, tamen, quia Italiae cura prior potiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis eius mutatum est; Himilco 2 cum exercitu iusto et aucta classe ad retinendam terra marique ac tuendam Hispaniam est missus. Qui ut 3 pedestres navalesque copias traiecit, castris communitis navibusque subductis et vallo circumdatis, cum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime accelerare poterat, per dubios infestosque populos iuxta intentus ad Hasdrubalem pervenit. Quum decreta senatus mandataque exposuisset 4 atque edoctus esset ipse in vicem, quemadmodum tractandum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in sua castra rediit, nulla re quam celeritate tutior, quod undique abierat, ante-

5 quam consentirent. Hasdrubal, priusquam moveret  
castra, pecunias imperat populis omnibus suae dicionis,  
satis gnarus, Hannibalem transitus quosdam pretio mer-  
catum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse ;  
6 inopem tantum iter ingressum vix penetraturum ad Alpes  
fuisse. Pecuniis igitur raptim exactis, ad Hiberum de-  
scendit.

7 Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad  
Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus, ambo  
duces iunctis copiis ire obviam coeptis atque obsistere  
8 parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando Italiae  
hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset  
9 iunctus, illum finem Romani imperii fore. His anxii curis  
ad Hiberum contrahunt copias, et transito amne, quum  
diu consultassent, utrum castra castris conferrent an satis  
haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis morari ab  
10 itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo flumine  
Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea tempestate regio-  
11 nis eius, oppugnare parant. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal,  
pro ope ferenda sociis pergit ire ipse ad urbem deditam  
12 nuper in fidem Romanorum oppugnandam. Ita iam  
coepta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est et in ipsum Has-  
drubalem versum bellum.

**Ch 29.** *Which they effectually did, inflicting on him a crushing defeat.*

1 Quinque millium intervallo castra distantia habuere  
paucos dies, nec sine levibus proeliis nec ut in aciem  
2 exirent; tandem uno eodemque die velut ex composito  
utrinque signum pugnae propositum [est] atque omnibus  
3 copiis in campum descensum est. Triplex stetit Romana  
acies; velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post  
4 signa accepta; equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal me-

diam aciem Hispanis firmat; in cornibus, dextro Poenos locat, laevo Afros mercenariorumque auxilia; equitum Numidas Poenorum peditibus, ceteros Afris pro cornibus apponit. Nec omnes Numidae in dextro locati cornu, 5 sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat; tanta velocitas ipsis tamque docile equorum genus est. Quum hoc modo 6 instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque partis haud ferme dispares spes erant; nam ne multum quidem aut numero aut genere militum hi aut illi praestabant; militibus longe dispar animus erat. Romanis enim, quanquam procul a 7 patria pugnarent, facile persuaserant duces, pro Italia atque urbe Romana eos pugnare; ~~citaeque~~, velut quibus reditus in patriam *in* eo discrimine pugnae verteretur, obstinaverant animis vincere aut mori. Minus pertinaces 8 viros habebat altera acies; nam maxima pars Hispani erant, qui vinci in Hispania quam victores in Italiam trahi malebant. Primo igitur concursu, quum vix pila coniecta 9 essent, rettulit pedem media acies, inferentibusque se magno impetu Romanis, vertit terga. Nihilo segnius *in* 10 cornibus proelium fuit. Hinc Poenus, hinc Afer urget, et velut in circumventos proelio ancipiti pugnant; sed quum 11 in medium tota iam coisset Romana acies, satis virium ad dimovenda hostium cornua habuit. Ita duo diversa proe- 12 lia erant. Utroque Romani, ut qui, pulsus iam ante mediis, et numero et robore virorum praestarent, haud dubie superant. Magna vis hominum ibi occisa, et, nisi 13 Hispani vixdum conserto proelio tam effuse fugissent, perpauci ex tota superfuissent acie. Equestris pugna 14 nulla admodum fuit, quia, simul inclinatam mediam aciem Mauri Numidaeque viderunt, extemplo fuga effusa nuda

15 cornua, elephantis quoque prae se actis, deseruere. Hasdrubal usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae moratus e media caede cum paucis effugit. Castra Romani cepere  
 16 atque diripuerunt. Ea pugna, si qua dubia in Hispania erant, Romanis adiunxit, Hasdrubalique non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus, sed ne manendi quidem satis  
 17 tuto in Hispania spes reliqua erat. Quae posteaquam litteris Scipionum Romae vulgatae sunt, non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

Ch. 30. §§ 1-4. *About this time Petelia, after a most gallant resistance, was taken by Hannibal's general Himilco, § 5. who next obtained possession of Consentia, §§ 6, 7. while his Bruttian allies took Croton. §§ 8, 9. Locri went over to the Carthaginians, but Rhegium remained faithful to Rome. §§ 10-12. Even Hiero's eldest son espoused Hannibal's cause, but death prevented him from carrying out his plans. §§ 13-17. Games were held at Rome and other religious ceremonies performed. §§ 18, 19. Next year Gracchus entered on his consulship, on the 15th of March, and Marcellus was made pro-consul.*

1 Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttis aliquot post mensibus, quam coepta oppugnari erat, ab  
 2 Himilcone praefecto Hannibalis expugnata est. Multo sanguine ac vulneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit, nec ulla  
 3 magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit. Absumptis enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quadrupedum suetae insuetaeque, postremo coriis herbisque et  
 4 radicibus et corticibus teneris strictisque foliis vixere, nec ante, quam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma  
 5 deerant, expugnati sunt. Recepta Petelia, Poenus ad Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter de-  
 6 fensam intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit. Iisdem ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus Crotonem, Graecam urbem, circumscedit, opulentam quondam armis virisque,

tum iam adeo multis magnisque cladibus afflictam, ut  
omnis aetatis minus duo millia civium superessent. Itaque 7  
urbe a defensoribus vasta facile potiti hostes sunt; arx  
tantum retenta, in quam inter tumultum captae urbis e  
media caede quidam effugere. Et Locrenses descivere ad 8  
Bruttios Poenosque, prodita multitudine a principibus.  
Regini tantummodo regionis eius et in fide erga Romanos 9  
et potestatis suae ad ultimum manserunt. In Siciliam 10  
quoque eadem inclinatio animorum pervenit, et ne domus  
quidem Hieronis tota ab defectione abstinuit. Namque 11  
Gelo, maximus stirpis, contempta simul senectute patris,  
simul post Cannensem cladem Romana societate, ad  
Poenos defecit, movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors adeo 12  
opportuna, ut patrem quoque suspicione aspergeret, arman-  
tem eum multitudinem sollicitatemque socios absumpsisset.  
Haec eo anno in Italia, in Africa, in Sicilia, in Hispania 13  
vario eventu acta.

Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit, ut  
aedem Veneris Erycinae, quam dictator vovisset, dedicare  
liceret. Senatus decrevit, ut Ti. Sempronius, consul 14  
designatus, quum honorem inisset, ad populum ferret, ut  
Q. Fabium duumvirum esse iuberent aedis dedicandae  
causa. Et M. Aemilio Lepido, qui bis consul augurque 15  
fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres  
per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti in foro  
dederunt. Aediles curules C. Laetorius et Ti. Sempronius 16  
Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in aedilitate magister  
equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per triduum  
instaurati sunt. Plebei ludum aedilium M. Aurelii Cottae et 17  
M. Claudii Marcelli ter instaurati.

Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli, Ti. Sempronius 18  
consul idibus Martiis magistratum init. Praetores Q.

Fulvius Flaccus, qui antea *bis* consul censorque fuerat, urbanam, M. Valerius Laevinus peregrinam sortem in iurisdictione habuit; App. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam, Q. 19 Mucius Scaevola Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Marcello pro consule imperium esse populus iussit, quod post Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum in Italia prospere rem gessisset.

Ch. 31. §§ 1-6. *It was decreed to raise a property-tax of double the ordinary amount, and various arrangements were made for the command of the different armies.* §§ 7-14. *Marcellus having been sent to Campania, it was thought that there was a plot to prevent his election to the consulship. He was, however, elected on his return; but had to resign on account of some technical flaw, and Fabius was elected in his stead.* § 15. *Several portents occurred.*

1 Senatus, quo die primum est in Capitolio consultus, decrevit, ut eo anno duplex tributum imperaretur, simplex 2 confestim exigeretur, ex quo stipendium praesens omnibus militibus daretur, praeterquam qui milites ad Cannas fuisset. De exercitibus ita decreverunt, ut duabus legionibus urbanis Ti. Sempronius consul Cales ad conveniendum diem ediceret; inde eae legiones in castra Claudiana supra 4 Suessulam deducerentur. Quae ibi legiones essent (erant autem Cannensis maxime exercitus), eas App. Claudius Pulcher praetor in Siciliam traiceret, quaeque in Sicilia 5 essent, Romam deportarentur. Ad exercitum, cui ad conveniendum Cales edicta dies erat, M. Claudius Marcellus missus, isque iussus in castra Claudiana deducere 6 urbanas legiones. Ad veterem exercitum accipiendum deducendumque inde in Siciliam Ti. Maecilius Croto 7 legatus ab App. Claudio est missus. Taciti primo expectaverant homines, uti consul comitia collegae creando



haberet; deinde, ubi ablegatum velut de industria M. Marcellum viderunt, quem maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in praetura res gestas creari volebant, fremitus in curia ortus. Quod ubi sensit consul, 'Utrum- 8 que' inquit 'e re publica fuit, patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exercitus in Campaniam proficisci, et comitia non prius edici, quam is inde confecto, quod mandatum est, negotio revertisset, ut vos consulem, quem tempus rei publicae postulare, quem maxime vultis, haberetis.' Ita de comitiis, donec rediit Marcellus, silen- 9 tium fuit. Interea duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erycinae; utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno discretae. Et de trecentis equitibus Cam- 10 panis, qui in Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis Romam venerant, latum ad populum, ut cives Romani essent; item ut municipes Cumani essent pridie, quam populus Campanus a populo Romano defecisset. Maxime, ut hoc 11 ferretur, moverat, quod, quorum hominum essent, scire se ipsi negabant, vetere patria relictâ, in eam, in quam redierant, nondum adsciti. Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu 12 rediit, comitia consuli subrogando in locum L. Postumii edicuntur. Creatur ingenti consensu Marcellus, qui ex- 13 templo magistratum occiperet. Cui ineunti consulatum quum tonuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum videri pronuntiaverunt; vulgoque patres ita fama ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebei consules facti essent, id deis cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdicâ- 14 vit, suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium.

Mare arsit eo anno; ad Sinuessam bos eculeum peperit; 15 signa Lanuvii ad Iunonis Sospitae cruore manavere, lapidibusque circa id templum pluit, ob quem imbrem noven-

diale, ut assolet, sacrum fuit; ceteraque prodigia cum cura expiata.

**Ch. 32.** §§ 1-4. *The Roman generals made arrangements for the command of the armies; §§ 5-12. while the Carthaginians sent Mago, with the forces that had been destined for Hannibal, to reinforce Hasdrubal in Spain. They also sent a force to Sardinia. §§ 13-20. Careful preparations were made for the defence of Italy.*

- 1 Consules exercitus inter sese diviserunt. Fabio exercitus Teani, cui M. Iunius dictator praefuerat, evenit; Sempronio volones, qui ibi erant, et sociorum viginti quinque
- 2 millia, M. Valerio praetori legiones, quae ex Sicilia redissent, decretae; M. Claudius pro consule ad eum exercitum, qui supra Suessulam Nolae praesideret, missus; praetores
- 3 in Siciliam ac Sardiniam profecti. Consules edixerunt, quoties in senatum vocassent, uti senatores, quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret, ad portam Capenam con-
- 4 venirent. Praetores, quorum iurisdictio erat, tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt; eo vadimonia fieri iusserunt, ibique eo anno ius dictum est.
- 5 Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago, frater Hannibalis, duodecim millia peditum et mille quingentos equites, viginti elephantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam trans-
- 6 missurus erat cum praesidio sexaginta navium longarum, nuntius affertur, in Hispania rem male gestam omnesque
- 7 ferme eius provinciae populos ad Romanos defecisse. Erant, qui Magonem cum classe ea copiisque, ommissa
- 8 Italia, in Hispaniam averterent, quum Sardiniae recipi-
- 9 endae repentina spes affulsit: parvum ibi exercitum Romanum esse; veterem praetorem inde A. Cornelium provinciae peritum decedere, novum expectari; ad hoc fessos iam animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate imperii, et

proximo iis anno acerbe atque avare imperatum; gravi tributo et collatione iniqua frumenti pressos; nihil deesse aliud quam auctorem, ad quem deficerent. Haec clandestina legatio per principes missa erat, maxime eam rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus longe primus erat. His nuntiis prope uno tempore turbati erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiisque in Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem deligunt ducem et tantum ferme copiarum, quantum Magoni, decernunt.

Et Romae consules, transactis rebus, quae in urbe agendaerant, movebant iam sese ad bellum. Ti. Sempronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum edixit, et Q. Fabius, consulto prius senatu, ut frumenta omnes ex agris ante calendas Iunias primas in urbes munitas converterent; qui non invexisset, eius se agrum populaturum, servos sub hasta venditurum, villas incensurum. Ne praetoribus quidem, qui ad ius dicendum creati erant, vacatio a belli administratione data est. Valerium praetorem in Apuliam ire placuit ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum: quum ex Sicilia legiones venissent, iis potissimum uti ad regionis eius praesidium, Terentianum exercitum Tarentum mitti cum aliquo legatorum; et viginti quinque naves datae, quibus oram maritimam inter Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. Par navium numerus Q. Fulvio praetori urbano decretus ad suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium datum, ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem militum haberet locisque his praesidio esset. Et T. Otacilius Crassus, postquam aedem Mentis in Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam cum imperio, qui classi praeesset, missus.

**Ch. 33.** §§ 1-4. *Ambassadors sent by Philip of Macedon to Hannibal* § 5 *were captured by a Roman outpost,* §§ 6-12. *but managed through the cunning and assurance of their leader to get away to Hannibal, with whom they concluded an alliance.*

1 In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in  
 2 terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intende-  
 3 rant, inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex eo magis, quo  
 4 propior Italiae ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat. Is  
 5 ubi primum fama accepit, Hannibalem Alpes transgres-  
 6 sum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto laetatus  
 7 erat, ita, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc  
 8 viribus fluctuatus animo fuerat. Postquam tertia iam  
 9 pugna, tertia victoria cum Poenis erat, ad fortunam incli-  
 10 navit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit; qui vitantes por-  
 11 tus Brundisium Tarentinumque, quia custodiis navium  
 12 Romanarum tenebantur, ad Lacinae Iunonis templum in  
 13 terram egressi sunt. Inde per Apuliam petentes Capuam  
 14 media in praesidia Romana illati sunt deductique ad  
 15 Valerium Laevinum praetorem, circa Luceriam castra  
 16 habentem. Ibi intrepide Xenophanes, legationis princeps,  
 17 a Philippo rege se missum ait ad amicitiam societatemque  
 18 iungendam cum populo Romano; mandata habere ad  
 19 consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Praetor  
 20 inter defectiones veterum sociorum nova societate tam  
 21 clari regis laetus admodum hostes pro hospitibus comiter  
 22 accepit. Dat, qui prosequantur; itinera cum cura demon-  
 23 strat, quae loca quosque saltus aut Romanus aut hostes  
 24 teneant. Xenophanes per praesidia Romana in Cam-  
 25 paniam, inde, qua proximum fuit, in castra Hannibalis  
 26 pervenit, foedusque cum eo atque amicitiam iungit legibus  
 27 his, ut Philippus rex quam maxima classe (ducentas autem  
 28 naves videbatur effecturus) in Italiam traiceret et vastaret

maritimam oram, bellum pro parte sua terra marique gereret; ubi debellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe 11 Roma Carthaginensium atque Hannibalis esset, prae-  
daque omnis Hannibali cederet; perdomita Italia, navi- 12  
garent in Graeciam bellumque, cum quibus regi placeret, gererent; quae civitates continentis quaeque insulae ad Macedoniam vergunt, eae Philippi regnique eius essent.

§§ 1-6. *But they were captured again on their way back, and this time some Carthaginian envoys who accompanied them betrayed their real character.* §§ 7-9. *Their despatches were then read, and they were put on board ship to be sent to Rome.* §§ 10-15. *On the advice of Cornelius Mammula the Romans ordered a force to be despatched to Sardinia.* §§ 16, 17. *A fleet sent to the same place by the Carthaginians under Hasdrubal the Bald, was damaged by a storm, and thus delayed.* Ch. 34.

In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem legatosque 1 Macedonum ictum foedus; missique cum iis ad regis 2 ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisco et Bostar et Mago, eodem ad Iunonis Lacinae, ubi navis occulta in statione erat, perveniunt. Inde profecti quum altum tenerent, 3 conspecti a classe Romana sunt, quae praesidio erat Calabriae litoribus. Valerius Flaccus cercuros ad perse- 4 quendam retrahendamque navem quum misisset, primo fugere regii conati, deinde, ubi celeritate vinci se senserunt, tradunt se Romanis, et ad praefectum classis adducti, quum quaereret, qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum, 5 Xenophanes primo satis iam semel felix mendacium struere, a Philippo se ad Romanos missum ad M. Valerium, ad quem unum iter tutum fuerit, pervenisse, Campaniam superare nequisse, septem hostium praesidiis. Deinde ut Punicus cultus habitusque suspectos legatos 6 fecit Hannibalis, interrogatosque sermo prodidit, tum comi- 7 tibus eorum seductis ac metu territis, litterae quoque ab

- Hannibale ad Philippum inventae et pacta inter regem  
8 Macedonum Poenumque ducem. Quibus satis cognitis,  
optimum visum est captivos comitesque eorum Romam ad  
senatum aut *ad* consules, ubicunque essent, quam primum  
9 deportare. Ad id celerrimae quinque naves delectae ac  
L. Valerius Antias, qui praeesset, missus, eique mandatum,  
ut in omnes naves legatos separatim custodiendos divideret  
daretque operam, ne quod iis colloquium inter se neve  
quae communicatio consilii esset.
- 10 Per idem tempus Romae quum A. Cornelius Mammula,  
ex Sardinia provincia decedens, rettulisset, qui status rerum  
11 *in* insula esset : bellum ac defectionem omnes spectare ; Q.  
Mucium, qui successisset sibi, gravitate caeli aquarumque  
advenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum quam  
longum morbum implicitum, diu ad belli munia sustinenda  
12 inutilem fore, exercitumque ibi ut satis firmum pacatae  
provinciae praesidem esse, ita imparem bello, quod motum  
13 iri videretur, decreverunt patres, ut Q. Fulvius Flaccus  
quinque millia peditum, quadringentos equites scriberet  
eamque legionem primo quoque tempore in Sardiniam  
14 traiciendam curaret, mitteretque cum imperio, quem ipsi  
videretur, qui rem gereret, quoad Mucius convaluisset.
- 15 Ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis  
consul et censor fuerat subegeratque in consulatu Sardos.
- 16 Sub idem fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis  
missa duce Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat, foeda  
17 tempestate vexata ad Baliarenses insulas deiicitur, ibique  
(adeo non armamenta modo, sed etiam alvei navium quas-  
sati erant) subductae naves, dum reficiuntur, aliquantum  
temporis triverunt.

§§ 1-4. *A plot of the Capuans to surprise Cumae during a religious festival* Ch. 35.  
 §§ 5-19. *was frustrated by the consul Gracchus.*

In Italia quum post Cannensem pugnam, fractis partis 1  
 alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, segnius bellum  
 esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suae 2  
 dicionis facere, primo sollicitantes, ut ab Romanis defice-  
 rent; ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos  
 comparant. Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad 3  
 Hamas erat. Eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores  
 Cumanos fecerunt, petieruntque, ut et Cumanus eo senatus  
 veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem uterque 4  
 populus socios hostesque haberet; praesidium ibi arma-  
 tum se habituros, ne quid ab Romano Poenove periculi  
 esset. Cumani, quanquam suspecta fraus erat, nihil ab-  
 nuere, ita tegi fallax consilium posse rati. Interim Ti. 5  
 Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessae, quo ad convenien-  
 dum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato, transgressus Vultur-  
 num flumen circa Liternum posuit castra. Ibi quia otiosa 6  
 stativa erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat, ut tirones  
 (ea maxima pars volonum erant) assuescerent signa sequi  
 et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quae maxima 7  
 erat cura duci, itaque legatis tribunisque praeceperat, ne  
 qua exprobratio cuiquam veteris fortunae discordiam inter  
 ordines sereret; vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exae-  
 quari sineret; omnes satis honestos generososque ducerent, 8  
 quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset;  
 quae fortuna coegisset ita fieri, eandem cogere tueri fac-  
 tum. Ea non maiore cura praecepta ab ducibus sunt 9  
 quam a militibus observata, brevique tanta concordia coalu-  
 erant omnium animi, ut prope in oblivionem veniret, qua  
 ex condicione quisque esset miles factus. Haec agenti 10  
 Graccho legati Cumani nuntiarunt, quae a Campanis

legatio paucos ante dies venisset et quid iis ipsi respondis-  
11 sent: triduo post eum diem festum esse; non senatum  
solum omnem ibi futurum, sed castra etiam et exercitum  
12 Campanum. Gracchus, iussis Cumanis omnia ex agris  
in urbem convehere et manere intra muros, ipse pridie,  
quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset, Cumas movet  
13 castra. Hamae inde tria millia passuum absunt. Iam  
Campani eo frequentes ex composito convenerant, nec  
procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius medix tuticus (is  
summus magistratus erat Campanis) cum quattuordecim  
14 millibus armatorum habebat castra, sacrificio apparando  
et inter id instruendae fraudi aliquanto intentior quam  
15 muniendis castris aut ulli militari operi. [Triduum sacri-  
ficatum ad Hamas.] Nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante  
16 mediam noctem compleretur. Huic Gracchus insidian-  
dum tempori ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis  
enuntiare posset coepta, et a decima diei hora coactis  
17 militibus corpora curare somnoque operam dare, ut primis  
18 tenebris convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima  
tolli iussit signa, silentique profectus agmine quum ad  
Hamas media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana ut in  
pervigilio neglecta simul omnibus portis invadit; alios  
somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermes redeunt  
19 obruncat. Hominum eo tumultu nocturno caesa plus  
duo millia cum ipso duce Mario Alfio; capti\* et signa  
militaria quattuor et triginta.



§§ 1-6. *Hannibal then came to attack Gracchus, but found him safe within the walls of Cumae. So he retired, §§ 7, 8. but returned the next day with his siege-engines. §§ 9, 10. Fabius, who was at Cales, was prevented by religious reasons from coming to the help of the city,* **Ch. 36.**

Gracchus minus centum militum iactura castris hostium 1  
 potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens,  
 qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra. Nec eum 2  
 provida futuri fefellit opinio. Nam simul Capuam ea  
 clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal, ab re bene gesta in-  
 solenter laetum exercitum, tironum magna ex parte et  
 servorum, spoliante victos praedasque agentem ad Hamas  
 se inventurum, citatum agmen praeter Capuam rapit, 3  
 obviosque ex fuga Campanorum dato praesidio Capuam  
 duci, saucios vehiculis portari iubet. Ipse Hamis vacua 4  
 ab hostibus castra nec quicquam praeter recentis vestigia  
 caedis strataque passim corpora sociorum invenit. Auc- 5  
 tores erant quidam, ut protinus inde Cumas duceret  
 urbemque oppugnaret. Id quanquam haud modice Han- 6  
 nibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas  
 saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia praeter  
 arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat, retro  
 in castra super Tifata se recepit. Inde fatigatus Cam- 7  
 panorum precibus sequenti die cum omni apparatu  
 oppugnandae urbis Cumas redit, perpopulatoque agro  
 Cumano, mille passus ab urbe castra locat, quum Grac- 8  
 chus magis verecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios  
 implorantes fidem suam populique Romani substitisset  
 quam satis fidens exercitui. Nec alter consul Fabius, qui 9  
 ad Cales castra habebat, Vulturnum flumen traducere  
 audebat exercitum, occupatus primo auspiciis repetendis, 10  
 dein prodigiis, quae alia super, alia nuntiabantur; ex-  
 piantique ea haud facile litari haruspices respondebant.

Ch. 37. § 1. *and so Gracchus had to submit to being besieged.* §§ 2-7. *By a well-timed sally he inflicted great loss upon the enemy.* §§ 8, 9. *But he refused to risk a pitched battle, and Hannibal had to abandon the siege.* §§ 10, 11. *About the same time Ti. Sempronius Longus won a victory over Hanno in Lucania,* §§ 12, 13. *and M. Valerius captured three towns of the Hirpini which had revolted from Rome.*

- 1 Eae causae quum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in
- 2 obsidione erat et iam operibus oppugnabatur. Adversus
- ligneam ingentem admotam urbi aliam turrem ex ipso
- muro excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiore, quia,
- muro satis per se alto, subiectis validis sublicis pro solo
- 3 usus erat. Inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris mis-
- silibus propugnatores moenia atque urbem tuebantur;
- 4 postremo, ubi promovendo adiunctam muro viderunt
- turrem, facibus ardentibus plurimum simul ignem con-
- 5 iecerunt. Quo incendio trepida armatorum multitudo
- quum de turre sese praecipitaret, eruptio ex oppido
- simul duabus portis stationes hostium fudit fugavitque
- in castra, ut eo die obsesso quam obsidenti similior esset
- 6 Poenus. Ad mille trecenti Carthaginensium caesi et un-
- desexaginta vivi capti, qui circa muros et in stationibus
- solute ac negligenter agentes, quum nihil minus quam
- eruptionem timuissent, ex improvise oppressi fuerant.
- 7 Gracchus, priusquam se hostes ab repentino pavore
- colligerent, receptui signum dedit ac suos intra muros
- 8 recepit. Postero die Hannibal, laetum secunda re consu-
- lem iusto proelio ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra
- 9 atque urbem instruxit; ceterum, postquam neminem
- moveri ab solita custodia urbis vidit nec committi quic-
- quam temerariae spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re.
- 10 Quibus diebus Cumae liberatae sunt obsidione, iisdem
- diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum Ti. Sempronius,

cui Longo cognomen erat, cum Hannone Poeno prospere pugnât. Supra duo millia hominum occidit, et 11 ducentos octoginta milites, signa militaria ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit. Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quae 12 a populo Romano defecerant, vi recepta per M. Valerium praetorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum, et auctores defectionis securi percussi. Supra quinque 13 millia captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda alia militi concessa, exercitusque Luceriam reductus.

§§ 1-5. *When the captive envoys and Hannibal's despatches had reached Rome,* Ch. 38.  
 §§ 6-13. *the Senate determined to keep off Philip by acting on the offensive against him.*

Dum haec in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur, quin- 1 que naves, quae Macedonum atque Poenorum captos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum circumvectae prope omnem Italiae oram, quum praeter 2 Cumas velis ferrentur neque, hostium an sociorum essent, satis sciretur, Gracchus obviam ex classe sua naves misit. Quum percontando in vicem cognitum esset, consulem 3 Cumis esse, naves Cumas appulsae captivique ad consulem deducti et litterae datae. Consul, litteris Philippi 4 atque Hannibalis perlectis, consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit, navibus devehi legatos iussit. Quum 5 eodem fere die litterae legatique Romam venissent, et, percontatione facta, dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo gravis cura patres incessit, cernentes, quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret; cui 6 tamen adeo non succubuerunt, ut extemplo ageretur, quemadmodum ultro inferendo bello averterent ab Italia hostem. Captivis in vincula condi iussis comitibusque 7

eorum sub hasta venditis, ad naves viginti quinque, quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praeerat, viginti  
 8 *quinque* parari alias decernunt. His comparatis deductisque et additis quinque navibus, quae advexerant captivos legatos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum profectae,  
 9 iussusque P. Valerius, militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius legatus Tarenti praeerat, in naves impositis, quinquaginta quinque navium classe non tueri modo  
 10 Italiae oram, sed explorare de Macedonico bello; si congruentia litteris legatorumque indiciis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium praetorem litteris certiore faceret,  
 11 isque, L. Apustio legato exercitui praeposito, Tarentum ad classem profectus primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret daretque operam, ut Philippum in  
 12 regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem tuendam bellumque Macedonicum ea decreta est, quae App. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat, ut redderetur Hieroni regi; ea per L.  
 13 Antistium legatum Tarentum est devecta. Simul ab Hierone missa ducenta millia modium tritici et hordei centum.

**Ch. 39.** § 1. *Meanwhile the ship in which the Macedonian envoys had come escaped to Philip, with the news of the capture of his messengers.*  
 §§ 2-4. *So he sent another embassy to Hannibal, which was more fortunate than the first. However, the war had been delayed.* §§ 5-8. *To keep in check the democratical party at Nola, Fabius sent Marcellus to garrison that city.*

1 Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum captiva navis una ex iis, quae Romam missae erant, ex cursu  
 2 refugit; inde scitum, legatos cum litteris captos. Itaque ignarus rex, quae cum Hannibale legatis suis convenissent, quaeque legati eius ad se allaturi fuissent, legationem aliam cum eisdem mandatis mittit. Legati ad

Hannibalem missi Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen erat, et Crito Boeotus et Sositheus Magnes. Hi prospere tulerunt ac rettulerunt mandata; sed prius se aestas circumegit, quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset; tantum navis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.

Et circa Capuam, transgresso Vulturnum Fabio post 5 expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem gerebant. Combulteriam et Trebulam et Austiculam urbes, quae ad 6 Poenum defecerant, Fabius vi cepit, praesidiaque in iis Hannibalis Campanique permulti capti. Et Nolae, sicut 7 priore anno, senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibalis erat, consiliaque occulta de caede principum et proditione urbis inibantur. Quibus ne incepta procederent, inter 8 Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quae in Tifatis erant, ducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulam in castris Claudianis consedit; inde M. Marcellum propraetorem cum iis copiis, quas habebat, Nolam in praesidium misit.

§§ 1-5. *In Sardinia, Manlius won a brilliant victory over Hostus, Ch. 40.<sup>2</sup> the son of the rebel Hampticora, §§ 6-8. and would have thereby put down the native rising had not Hasdrubal appeared with his fleet. §§ 9-12. But Manlius, after some hard fighting, won a decisive victory over the combined Carthaginian and Sardinian forces,*

Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium praetorem administrari coeptae, quae omissae erant, postquam Q. Mucius praetor gravi morbo est implicitus. Manlius, navibus 2 longis ad Carales subductis navalibusque sociis armatis, ut terra rem gereret, et a praetore exercitu accepto, duo et viginti millia peditum, mille ducentos equites confecit. Cum his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum 3 hostium haud procul ab Hampticorae castris castra

posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus erat in Pellitos  
Sardos ad iuventutem armandam, qua copias augetet;  
4 filius nomine Hostus castris praeerat. Is adolescentia  
ferox temere proelio inito fusus fugatusque. Ad tria  
millia Sardorum eo proelio caesa, octingenti ferme vivi  
5 capti; alius exercitus primo per agros silvasque fuga  
palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem  
6 nomine Cornum, caput eius regionis, confugit; debella-  
tumque eo proelio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica  
cum duce Hasdrubale, quae tempestate deiecta ad  
Baliares erat, in tempore ad spem rebellandi advenisset.  
7 Manlius post famam appulsae Punicae classis Carales se  
recepit; ea occasio Hampsicorae data est Poeno se iun-  
8 gendi. Hasdrubal, copiis in terram expositis et classe  
remissa Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad sociorum  
populi Romani agrum populandum profectus, Carales  
perventurus erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab effusa eum  
9 populatione continuisset. Primo castra castris modico  
intervallo sunt obiecta; dein per procursationes levia  
certamina vario eventu inita; postremo descensum in  
aciem. Signis collatis iusto proelio per quattuor horas  
10 pugnatum. Diu pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis facile  
vinci assuetis, fecerunt; postremo et ipsi, quum omnia  
11 circa strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, fusi; ce-  
terum terga dantes circumducto cornu, quo pepulerat  
Sardos, inclusit Romanus. Caedes inde magis quam  
12 pugna fuit. Duodecim millia hostium caesa, Sardorum  
simul Paenorumque, ferme tria millia et septingent  
capti et signa militaria septem et viginti.

§§ 1, 2. *making Hasdrubal himself prisoner, together with other Ch. 41.*  
*Carthaginian nobles. §§ 3, 4. Hostus fell in the battle, and*  
*Hampsicora killed himself. §§ 5-7. After this, Manlius took*  
*the city of Cornus, and the submission of Sardinia followed.*  
 §§ 8, 9. *As the Carthaginian fleet was returning from Sar-*  
*dinia, Otacilius captured seven of their ships. §§ 10-12. Mean-*  
*while Bomilcar made his way to Hanno with reinforcements*  
*and supplies from Carthage. §§ 13, 14. Marcellus now began*  
*to ravage the country of the Hirpini and Samnites,*

Ante omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam fecit 1  
 Hasdrubal imperator captus et Hanno et Mago, nobiles  
 Carthaginienses, Mago ex gente Barcina, propinqua 2  
 cognatione Hannibali iunctus, Hanno auctor rebellionis  
 Sardis bellique eius haud dubie concitor. Nec Sar- 3  
 dorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladibus suis  
 fecerunt; nam et filius Hampsicorae Hostus in acie  
 cecidit, et Hampsicora cum paucis equitibus fugiens, 4  
 ut super afflictas res necem quoque filii audivit, nocte,  
 ne cuius interventus coepta impediret, mortem sibi  
 conscivit. Ceteris urbs Cornus eadem, quae ante, fugae 5  
 receptaculum fuit; quam Manlius victore exercitu aggressus  
 intra dies paucos recepit. Deinde aliae quoque civitates, 6  
 quae ad Hampsicoram Poenosque defecerant, obsidibus  
 datis dediderunt sese; quibus stipendio frumentoque im-  
 perato pro cuiusque aut viribus aut delicto, Carales exer-  
 citum reduxit. Ibi navibus longis deductis impositoque, 7  
 quem secum advexerat, milite, Romam navigat, Sar-  
 diniamque perdomitam nuntiat patribus; et stipendium  
 quaestoribus, frumentum aedilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio  
 praetori tradit.

Per idem tempus T. Otacilius praetor ab Lilybaeo 8  
 classi in Africam transvectus depopulatusque agrum  
 Carthaginiensem, quum Sardiniam inde peteret, quo 9

fama erat Hasdrubalem a Baliaribus nuper traiecisse, classi Africam repetenti occurrit, levique certamine in alto commisso, septem inde naves cum sociis navalibus cepit. Ceteras metus haud secus quam tempestas passim disiecit.

- 10 Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus ad supplementum Carthagine missis elephantisque *et* com-  
 11 meatu Locros accessit. Quem ut incautum opprimeret App. Claudius, per simulationem provinciae circum-eundae Messanam raptim exercitu ducto, *vento* aestuque  
 12 suo Locros traiecit. Iam inde Bomilcar ad Hannonem in Bruttios profectus erat, et Locrenses portas Romanis clausurunt; Appius, magno conatu nulla re gesta, Messanam repetit.
- 13 Eadem aestate Marcellus ab Nola, quam praesidio obtinebat, crebras excursions in agrum Hirpinum et  
 14 Samnites Caudinos fecit, adeoque omnia ferro atque igni vastavit, ut antiquarum cladum Samnio memoriam renovaret.

Ch. 42. *who therefore sent to Hannibal to entreat him to despatch to their aid a small force, by which, they said, Marcellus' careless raids could easily be stopped.*

- 1 Itaque extemplo legati ad Hannibalem missi simul ex  
 2 utraque gente ita Poenum allocuti sunt. 'Hostes populi Romani, Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi, quoad nostra arma, nostrae vires nos, tutari poterant. Postquam iis parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adiun-  
 3 ximus; a quo relictis pacem necessariam accepimus, fuimusque in ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tem-  
 4 pus, quo tu in Italiam venisti. Tua nos non magis virtus fortunaque quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga cives nostros, quos captos nobis remisisti, ita conciliavit tibi, ut,



te salvo atque incolumi amico, non modo populum Romanum, sed ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici timemus. At hercule non solum incolumi et victore, sed 5 praesente te, quum ploratum prope coniugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspiciere, ita sumus aliquoties hac aestate devastati, ut M. Marcellus, non Hannibal vicisse ad Cannas videatur glorianturque Romani, te, ad unum modo ictum vigentem, velut aculeo emisso torpere. Per annos *centum* cum populo Romano 6 bellum gessimus, nullo externo adiuti nec duce nec exercitu, nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis milite suas auxit vires quam suis viribus nos defendit. Non ego 7 secundis rebus nostris gloriabor, duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos, et si qua alia aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt. Quae aspera 8 adversaque tunc acciderunt, minore indignatione referre possumus, quam quae hodie eveniunt. Magni dictatores 9 cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur fines nostros; ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant; nunc propriae toris unius et parvi ad tuendam 10 Nolam praesidii praeda sumus; iam ne manipulatim quidem, sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris negligentius, quam si in Romano vagarentur agro. Causa autem haec est, quod neque tu defendis et nostra 11 iuventus, quae, si domi esset, tutaretur, omnis sub signis militat tuis. Nec te nec exercitum tuum norim, nisi, a 12 quo tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque esse sciam, ei facile esse ducam opprimere populos nostros vagos sine signis palatos, quo quemque trahit quamvis vana praedae spes. Numidarum paucorum illi quidem praeda 13 erunt, praesidiumque *miseris* simul nobis et Nola ad-

emeris, si modo, quos, ut socios haberes, dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas, quos in fidem receptos tuearis.'

Ch. 43. §§ 1-4. *Hannibal promised to draw off Marcellus by attacking the Roman allies, § 5. and started for Nola, § 6. where he was joined by Hanno with the reinforcements that Bomilcar had brought from Carthage. §§ 6, 7. He found that the stories about Marcellus' carelessness were false. §§ 8, 9. Marcellus now kept his forces within the walls of Nola, but permitted two Nolan senators to hold a colloquy with Hanno. §§ 10, 11. Hanno's promises §§ 12-14. and threats*

- 1 Ad ea Hannibal respondit, omnia simul facere Hirpinos Samnitesque, et indicare clades suas et petere praesidium et queri indefensos se neglectosque. Indicandum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum praesidium, postremo, ni impetraretur, tum denique querendum, frustra
- 2 opem imploratam. Exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum Samnitumve, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum. Iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se et metu procul ab iis sum-
- 3 moturum hostes. Quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum quoque se memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore victoria fac-
- 4 turum. Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit; ipse, praesidio modico relicto in Tifatis, profectus
- 5 cetero exercitu ire Nola pergit. Eodem Hanno ex Brutiis cum supplemento Carthagine advecto atque elephantis venit. Castris haud procul positis, longe alia omnia inquirenti comperta sunt, quam quae a legatis
- 6 sociorum audierat. Nihil enim Marcellus ita egerat, ut aut fortunae aut temere hosti commissum dici posset. Explorato cum firmisque praesidiis, tuto receptu praedatum

ierat, omniaque velut adversus praesentem Hannibalem  
 cauta provisaeque fuerant. Tum, ubi sensit hostem ad- 8  
 ventare, copias intra moenia tenuit; per muros inambulare  
 senatores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare, quae  
 apud hostes fierent. Ex his Hanno, quum ad murum 9  
 successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium ad  
 colloquium evocatos permissuque Marcelli egressos per  
 interpretem alloquitur. Hannibalis virtutem fortunamque 10  
 extollit; populi Romani obterit senescentem cum viribus  
 maiestatem. Quae si paria essent, ut quondam fuissent, 11  
 tamen expertis, quam grave Romanum imperium sociis,  
 quanta indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captivos omnes  
 Italici nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanae societatem atque  
 amicitiam praeoptandam esse. Si ambo consules cum 12  
 suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares  
 Hannibali futuros, quam ad Cannas fuissent, nedum  
 praetor unus cum paucis et novis militibus Nolam tutari  
 possit. Ipsorum quam Hannibalis *magis* interesse, capta 13  
 an tradita Nola poteretur; potiturum enim, ut Capua  
 Nuceriaque potitus esset; sed quid inter Capuae ac  
 Nuceriae fortunam interesset, ipsos prope in medio sitos  
 Nolanos scire. Nolle ominari, quae captae urbi casura 14  
 forent, et potius spondere, si Marcellum cum praesidio ac  
 Nolam tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem,  
 qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis venirent,  
 dicturum.

§§ 1, 2. *were alike unavailing*; § 3. *and Hannibal determined Ch. 44.*  
*to use force.* §§ 4-6. *Marcellus made a sally, and a fierce*  
*battle began: but a storm of rain put an end to it.* §§ 6-9.  
*Two days afterwards an obstinate battle was fought.*

Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit, multos annos iam 1  
 inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse,

cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere, et sibi, si cum  
2 fortuna mutanda fides fuerit, sero iam esse mutare. An  
dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum  
praesidium? Cum iis, qui ad sese tuendos venissent,  
omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore.  
3 Hoc colloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per pro-  
ditionem recipiendae Nolae. Itaque corona oppidum  
circumdedit, ut simul ab omni parte moenia aggrederetur.  
4 Quem ut successisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa  
intra portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot  
primo impetu perculsi caesique sunt; dein concursu ad  
pugnantes facto aequatisque viribus atrox esse coepit  
pugna, memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset, ni ingenti-  
5 bus procellis effusus imber diremisset pugnantes. Eo  
die commisso modico certamine atque irritatis animis in  
urbem Romani, Poeni in castra receperunt sese; nam  
Poenorum prima eruptione perculsi ceciderunt haud plus  
6 quam triginta, Romani quinquaginta. Imber continens  
per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis  
tenuit. Itaque, quanquam utraque pars avidi certaminis  
erant, eo die tenuerunt sese tamen munimentis. Tertio  
die Hannibal partem copiarum praedatum in agrum No-  
7 lanum misit. Quod ubi animadvertit Marcellus, extemplo  
in aciem copias eduxit; neque Hannibal detrectavit.  
Mille fere passuum inter urbem erant castraque; eo  
spatio (et sunt omnia campi circa Nola) concurrerunt.  
8 Clamor ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohortibus  
iis, quae in agros praedatum exierant, ad proelium iam  
9 commissum revocavit. Et Nolani aciem Romanam  
auxerunt, quos collaudatos Marcellus in subsidiis stare et  
saucios ex acie efferre iussit, pugna abstinere, ni ab se  
signum accepissent.

§§ 1-4. *Marcellus encouraged his soldiers by telling them that Capua* Ch. 45.  
*had destroyed the efficiency of Hannibal's army; §§ 5-10.*  
*while Hannibal tried to urge on his men with bitter taunts.*

Proelium erat anceps; summa vi et duces hortabantur 1  
et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante diem tertium,  
fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsus priore anno ab  
Nola ab eodem se duce, milite alio, instare iubet. Non 2  
omnes esse in acie; praedantes vagari in agro; et qui  
pugnent, marcere Campana luxuria, vino et scortis omni-  
busque lustris per totam hiemem confectos. Abisse illam 3  
vim vigoremque, dilapsa esse robora corporum animo-  
rumque, quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint iuga.  
Reliquias illorum virorum vix arma membraque sustinentes  
pugnare. Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse. Ibi virtu- 4  
tem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi praeteriti  
temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. Quum 5  
haec exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos  
erigeret, Hannibal multo gravioribus probris increpabat:  
Arma signaque eadem se noscere, quae ad Trebiam Tra- 6  
sumennumque, postremo ad Cannas viderit habueritque;  
militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse,  
alium inde eduxisse. 'Legatumne Romanum et legionis 7  
unius atque alae magno certamine vix toleratis pugnam,  
quos binae acies consulares nunquam sustinuerunt?  
Marcellus tirone milite ac Nolanis subsidiis inultus nos 8  
iam iterum lacescit. Ubi ille miles meus est, qui derepto  
ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? ubi, *qui* L.  
Paulum ad Cannas occidit? Ferrum nunc hebet? an 9  
dextrae torpent? an quid prodigii est aliud? Qui pauci  
plures vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures vix restatis.  
Romam vos expugnaturos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua  
iactabatis. En, in minore re experiri vim virtutemque 10

volo. Expugnate Nolam, campestrum urbem, non flumine, non mari saeptam. Hinc vos ex tam opulenta urbe praeda spoliisque onustos vel ducam, quo voletis, vel sequar.'

Ch. 46. §§ 1-5. *The battle ended in a victory for the Romans; who thereby regained the allegiance of the Nolan democratical party.* §§ 6, 7. *After the battle some of Hannibal's cavalry deserted to the Romans,* § 8. *Hannibal then went to Arpi in Apulia.* §§ 9-11. *Whereupon Fabius appeared before Capua, and by ravaging their land, compelled the Capuans to come out in force to resist him.* §§ 12-14. *As the two armies lay encamped opposite to each other, Vibellius Taurea, a Capuan trooper, challenged Claudius Asellus, an old rival of his, to single combat.*

- 1 Nec bene nec male dicta profuerunt ad confirmandos
- 2 animos. Quum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque crescerent animi, non duce solum adhortante, sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem favoris indicem accendentibus ardorem pugnae, terga Poeni dederunt atque in castra compulsi sunt. Quae oppugnare cupientes milites Romanos Marcellus Nolam reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulatione etiam plebis, quae ante inclinior ad Poenos fuerat.
- 4 Hostium plus quinque millia caesa eo die, vivi capti sexcenti et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephantum; quattuor in acie occisi; Romanorum minus mille interfecti.
- 5 Posterum diem indutiis tacitis sepeliendo utrinque caesos in acie consumpserunt. Spolia hostium Marcellus Vulcanum votum cremavit. Tertio post die ob iram, credo, aliquam aut spem liberalioris militiae ducenti septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidae et Hispani, ad Marcellum transfugerunt. Eorum forti fidelique opera in eo bello
- 7 usi sunt saepe Romani. Ager Hispanis in Hispania et Numidis in Africa post bellum virtutis causa datus est.

Hannibal, ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone cum 8  
 quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliae hiberna petit circaque  
 Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in Apuliam 9  
 Hannibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea  
 castra convecto, quae super Suessulam erant, munimen-  
 tisque firmatis et praesidio, quod per hiberna ad obtinen-  
 dum locum satis esset, relicto, ipse Capuam propius  
 movit castra, agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est  
 depopulatus, donec coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum 10  
 viribus suis fidentes, egredi portis et castra ante urbem in  
 aperto communire. Sex millia armatorum habebant, 11  
 peditem imbellem, equitatu plus poterant; itaque eques-  
 tribus proeliis lacescebant hostem. Inter multos nobiles 12  
 equites Campanos Cerrinus Vibellius erat, cognomine  
 Taurea. Civis indidem erat, longe omnium Campanorum  
 fortissimus eques, adeo ut, quum apud Romanos militaret,  
 unus eum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri  
 aequaret. Tunc Taurea, quum diu perlustrans oculis 13  
 obequitasset hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto, ubi  
 esset Claudius Asellus, quaesivit et, quoniam verbis secum 14  
 de virtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro decerneret  
 daretque opima spolia victus aut victor caperet.

§§ 1, 2. *The Roman accepted the challenge.* §§ 3, 4. *After some Ch. 47.*  
*fruitless manœuvring in the open plain,* § 5. *Taurea pro-*  
*posed to do battle in a hollow road.* §§ 6-8. *But when his*  
*adversary acted on his proposal, he pretended that he had been*  
*joking, and rode away.*

Haec ubi Asello sunt nuntiata in castra, id modo 1  
 moratus, ut consulem percontaretur, liceretne extra ordi-  
 nem in provocantem hostem pugnare, permissu eius arma  
 extemplo cepit, provectusque ante stationes equo Tauream 2  
 nomine compellavit congregique, ubi vellet, iussit. Iam 3

Romani ad spectaculum pugnae eius frequentes exierant, et Campani non vallum modo castrorum, sed omenia  
 4 etiam urbis prospectantes repleverant. Quum iam ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis concitarent equos; dein libero spatio inter se ludificantes sine  
 5 vulnere pugnam extrahere. Tum Campanus Romano 'Equorum' inquit 'hoc, non equitum erit certamen, nisi e campo in cavam hanc viam demittimus equos. Ibi nullo  
 6 ad evagandum spatio cominus conserentur manus.' Dicto prope citius equum in viam Claudius deiecit. Taurea, verbis ferocior quam re, 'Minime, sis' inquit, 'cantherium in fossam'; quae vox in rusticum inde proverbium pro-  
 7 dita est. Claudius quum ea via longe perequitasset, nullo obvio hoste in campum rursus evectus, increpans ignaviam hostis, cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor in castra  
 8 redit. Huic pugnae equestri rem, quam vera sit, communis existimatio est, mirabilem certe adiiciunt quidam annales: quum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium porta invectum per alteram, stupentibus miraculo hostibus, intactum evasisse.

**Ch. 48. §§ 1, 2.** *After carrying off the crops of the Capuans, Fabius went into winter quarters in Marcellus' old camp; § 3. and Gracchus went from Cumae to Luceria. §§ 4, 5. Despatches now came from the Scipios in Spain, saying that money and supplies were running very short. §§ 6-9. It was found impossible to raise any more money by taxation, which was already weighing over-heavily on the diminished number of tax-payers. §§ 10-12. So Fulvius the praetor was ordered to invite the 'publicani' to contract for supplying the troops in Spain with stores.*

- 1 Quieta inde stativa fuere, ac retro etiam consul movit castra, ut sementem Campani facerent, nec ante violavit agrum Campanum, quam iam altae in segetibus herbae



pabulum praebere poterant. Id convexit in Claudiana 2 castra super Suessulam, ibique hiberna aedificavit. M. Claudio proconsuli imperavit, ut, retento Nolae necessario ad tuendam urbem praesidio, ceteros milites dimitteret Romam, ne oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. Et Ti. Gracchus a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones 3 quum duxisset, M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo, quem Luceriae habuerat, exercitu misit, tuerique oram agri Sallentini et providere, quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum attineret, iussit.

Exitu aestatis eius, qua haec gesta perscripsimus, lit- 4 terae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent; sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimentaue et frumentum exercitui et sociis navalibus omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendium attineat, si 5 aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros, quomodo ab Hispanis sumant; cetera utique ab Roma mittenda esse, nec aliter aut exercitum aut provinciam teneri posse. Litteris recitatis, nemo omnium erat, quin et vera scribi et 6 postulari aequa fateretur; sed occurrebat animis, quantos exercitus terrestres navalesque tuerentur, quantaue nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum Macedonicum move- retur: Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae ante bellum vectigales 7 fuissent, vix praesides provinciarum exercitus alere; tributo sumptus suppeditari; [eum] ipsum tributum confe- 8 rentium numerum tantis exercituum stragibus et ad Trasumennum lacum *et* ad Cannas imminutum; qui superessent pauci, si multiplici gravarentur stipendio, alia perituros peste. Itaque nisi fide staret res publica, opibus non 9 staturam. Prodeundum in contionem Fulvio praetori 10 esse, indicandas populo publicas necessitates cohortandosque, qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia, ut rei

11 publicae, ex qua crevissent, tempus commodarent, condu-  
cerentque ea lege praebenda, quae ad exercitum Hispani-  
niensem opus essent, ut, quum pecunia in aerario esset,  
12 iis primis solveretur. Haec praetor in contione edixit, *et*  
quo *die* vestimenta *ac* frumentum Hispaniensi exercitui  
praebenda, quaeque alia opus essent navalibus sociis, esset  
locaturus.

Ch. 49. §§ 1-4. *And the 'publicani' liberally answered to his invitation.*  
§§ 5-11. *On the arrival of the supplies the Scipios were able to*  
*inflict a crushing defeat on the Carthaginian forces which were*  
*besieging Iliturgi, and to raise the siege of that city.* §§ 12-13.  
*An attempt of the Carthaginians to take Intibili was frustrated*  
*in a like manner,* § 14. *and almost the whole of Spain went*  
*over to the side of Rome.*

1 Ubi ea dies venit, ad conducendum tres societates  
2 aderant hominum undeviginti, quorum duo postulata fuere,  
unum, ut militia vacarent, dum in eo publico essent,  
alterum, ut, quae in naves imposuissent, ab hostium  
3 tempestatisque vi publico periculo essent. Utroque impe-  
trato, conduxerunt, privataque pecunia res publica admin-  
istrata est. Ii mores eaque caritas patriae per omnes  
4 ordines velut tenore uno pertinebat. Quemadmodum  
conducta omnia magno animo sunt, sic summa fide prae-  
bita, nec quicquam *parcius militibus datum, quam* si ex  
opulento aerario, ut quondam, alerentur.

5 Quum hi commeatus venerunt, Iliturgi oppidum ab  
Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale Bomilcaris filio ob  
6 defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter haec trina  
castra hostium Scipiones quum in urbem sociorum magno  
certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum,  
7 cuius inopia erat, advexerunt, cohortatique oppidanos, ut  
eodem animo moenia tutarentur, quo pro se pugnantes

Romanum exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda, quibus Hasdrubal praeerat, ducunt. Eodem et 8  
duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem  
summam agi cernentes, convenerunt. Itaque eruptione e 9  
castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium millia eo die in  
pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa a Romanis; tamen adeo 10  
haud dubia victoria fuit, ut plures numero, quam ipsi  
erant, Romani hostium occiderint, ceperint amplius tria 11  
millia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, undesexa-  
ginta militaria signa, septem elephantos, quinque in  
proelio occisis, trinisque eo die castris potiti sint. Iliturgi 12  
obsidione liberato, ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exer-  
citus traducti, suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quae  
maxime omnium, belli avida, modo praeda aut merces  
esset, et tum iuventute abundante. Iterum signis collatis 13  
eadem fortuna utriusque partis pugnatum. Supra trede-  
cim millia hostium caesa, supra duo capta cum signis  
duobus et quadraginta et novem elephantis. Tum vero 14  
omnes prope Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt,  
multoque maiores ea aestate in Hispania quam in Italia  
res gestae.



# NOTES.

## BOOK XXI.

§ 1. *In parte operis*, &c. Lit., 'I may say as preface in a section of my work,' i. e. 'by way of preface to a section of my work.' **Chap. 1.**

*plerique . . . rerum scriptores*; especially Thucydides, who began to write the history of the Peloponnesian war because he expected it to be *ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων*.

*quod*, 'I mean the one which.'

§ 2. *Nam neque*. Supply 'unquam.' It has been observed that four reasons are given for the importance of the Second Punic War, two introduced by 'neque,' and two by 'et.'

*virium aut roboris*: 'vires' is here the power of attack, 'robur' the power of resistance.

*belli artes . . . conferebant*. The 'arts of war' are spoken of as if they were the weapons used. Cf. 'inter se contulerunt arma' above.

*propius periculum*. The allusion is to the time immediately after the battle of Cannae. 'Propius' and 'proxime,' when used with a case, are generally regarded as prepositions, and thus they regularly take the accusative and not the dative. Cf. 23. 12. 3 and 15. 1, 'propius spem' and 'proxime Neapolim.' Curiously enough Silius Italicus, in imitating this passage, writes 'propiusque fuere periclo, Quis superare datum' (I. 13-14). On the other hand, the construction with the accusative is sometimes extended to the adjectives: thus Sallust writes 'propior montem,' and Caesar 'proximus mare.'

§ 3. *ultro*. The meaning of this word, so inadequately represented by 'of his own accord,' may be thus explained. Where to yield is pardonable or natural, and to stand one's ground praiseworthy or astonishing, if an advance is made it is made 'ultro.' Here 'ultro inferrent arma' may be translated 'were actually attacking,' or 'dared to attack.' Cf. 23. 18. 6, and more especially Horace, Odes, 4. 4. 49 foll. :—

'Dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:

Cervi, luporum praeda rapacium,

Sectamur ultro, quos opimus

Fallere et effugere est triumphus.'

*inferrent*. The subj. is here used because the reason is presented as a thought in the minds of the Romans. False analogy between the two clauses must have made Livy write 'crederent' in the next sentence.

**Chap.** § 4. *annorum ferme novem*. Cicero would have written 'puerum annorum ferme novem,' but Livy does not mind hanging the genitive of quality on to the proper name. Cf. 3. 27. 1.

*blandientem*, 'coaxing.'

*Africo bello*. The war with the mercenaries and Libyans. See Introduction.

*adactum*, sc. 'esse.'

§ 5. *spiritus*, 'pride.'

*nam et Siciliam*. Some verb of thinking must be supplied. It is doubtful whether Hamilcar can have thought that Sicily had been needlessly abandoned, though he knew that it had been lost by the carelessness of the Carthaginians, in not taking proper precautions against the possibility of the Romans again putting a fleet on the sea. But after the victory of Catulus he had himself agreed to abandon the island. Nevertheless he was no doubt eager to win it back again. On the other hand, the annexation of Sardinia was a shameless piece of robbery on the part of the Romans. See Introduction.

*stipendio*, the additional indemnity of 1200 talents.

*interceptam*, 'had been stolen.'

**Chap.** § 1. *quod fuit sub*, &c., 'which followed immediately after the conclusion of peace with Rome.'

*per quinque annos*. Inaccurate: the war with the mercenaries lasted about four years; less according to Polybius.

§ 2. (*ita*) *ut appareret*, 'in a manner that made it clear.'

*agitare*. The word means to 'move about' or 'turn over.'

§ 3. *obtinuit*, 'held.' This is the usual meaning of the word.

*flore aetatis*, &c., 'having first, so the story goes, become Hamilcar's favourite on account of his youthful beauty, and having certainly in after years received his daughter in marriage, for different, that is to say for mental, qualities.' '*Animi*' explains '*aliam*.' For the use of '*alius*' in the sense of the Greek *ἄλλος*, cf. 46. 9.

§ 4. *factionis Barcinæ opibus*, by the influence of Hamilcar's party, Barca (lightning) being Hamilcar's surname.

*principum*, 'the leading men' in Carthage. Livy represents Hamilcar as the champion of the people against the aristocracy. See on '*optimus quisque*' (4. 1). We know that Augustus used to call Livy a Pompeian, and we can well believe that the historian saw in Hanno the Pompey, and in Hamilcar (or Hannibal) the Caesar of Carthage.

*in imperio positus*, 'was placed in command of the army.'

§ 5. *regulorum . . . principum*. The '*reguli*' would be monarchs, the '*principes*' leading men in *republican* states (Weissenborn). Hasdrubal seems to have occasionally secured the adherence of the Spaniards

by intermarriage. Livy tells us that Hannibal's wife was a lady of Castulo (24. 41. 7). **Chap. 2.**

*rem Carthaginiensem auxit.* Especially by the foundation of New Carthage, the modern Cartagena.

§ 6. *haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu.* A short way of saying 'haud alio, quam eo quo fuisset, si evasisset, vultu.' 'With an expression such as he would have worn if he had escaped.'

§ 7. *Saguntinisque mediis.* Not ablative absolute, but dative after 'libertas servaretur.' Polybius mentions the treaty about the Ebro, but nothing about a clause securing the independence of Saguntum. We cannot accept Livy's testimony on the point as trustworthy; it seems like an afterthought to explain the not very intelligible relations of Rome with Saguntum.

§ 1. *In Hasdrubalis locum.* There is nothing in the sentence to justify these words except the general sense. But some words have probably been lost before 'favor plebis,' the restoration of which might make all clear. Drakenborch's reading 'praerogativam militarem . . . sequeretur' makes grammar out of the main part of the sentence, but does not properly account for the opening words. It is quite possible, however, that Livy may have written an anacoluthic sentence. With Drakenborch's reading we may translate:—'With regard to Hasdrubal's successor, it was plain that the affections of the people centred on the object already pointed out by the choice of the soldiers, who had at once carried off the young Hannibal to the general's tent and declared him their commander-in-chief with loud and universal applause.' **Chap. 3.**

*praerogativa* means properly the tribe or century that voted first in the Roman comitia, and thus carried the most weight by influencing the succeeding votes; it is also used for the vote itself. Here its use is metaphorical as applied to Carthaginian affairs, but it appears that this nomination of Hannibal by the troops was no mere informal act, but that the army, or rather the Carthaginians in it, had a legal right at this time to nominate its general, subject to the approval of the people and the council of elders.

§ 2. *accersierat.* Notice the tense. Livy is going back to explain how Hannibal happened to be in Spain at the time of Hasdrubal's assassination. He seems to have forgotten that he went there originally with his father. In fact he has probably followed a different account here from that which he had before him in writing ch. 1. and 30. 37. 9, where he makes Hannibal say at Carthage, 'Novem annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii.'

*in senatu,* 'in the council of elders.' See Introduction.

§ 4. *Quum admiratione, &c.* 'Having attracted the attention of all by startling them by (lit. 'by their wonder at') this ambiguous remark.'

**Chap. 3.** *pro militari rudimento*, 'by way of military training.'  
*praetorum*, 'generals.' The word 'praetor' is often used of generals and supreme magistrates of foreign states. Cf. '*praetorem Saguntinum*' (12. 7, where see note), and '*praetorem Campanum*' (23. 7. 8).

§ 5. *regni paterni speciem*, 'the display of the kingly power that he is to inherit.'

*parum mature*, 'not soon enough.'

**Chap. 4.** § 1. *optimus quisque*, 'all the best men.' This to a Roman of Livy's sympathies would be the same thing as saying 'all the aristocratical party.' Cicero uses '*optimates*' frequently, and '*optimi*' sometimes, to indicate the senatorial party in Rome. That party had no particular right to the term, and Hanno's party had still less.

*in se convertit*. As in § 4 of the last chapter.

§ 2. *Dein brevi*, &c. 'But soon he brought it about that to be Hamilcar's son was the least among his many claims to popularity.' 'Se' is abl., *not* acc. here.

§ 3. *ingenium idem*, 'one and the same nature.'

*haud facile discerneres*. Since we use 'You could not tell' of present time, we are obliged to say 'You could not have told' in translating the past '*discerneres*.'

§ 6. *patientia*, 'his endurance.'

*vigiliarum somnique*, &c. The sentence means only that Hannibal's times for sleeping and waking did not correspond to the divisions of night and day.

§ 8. *conspiciebantur*, i.e. they were the most splendid in the army.

*Equitum peditumque*, &c. 'He was by far the best soldier whether on foot or on horseback; he was the first to go into battle and the last to leave it when fighting had begun.'

§ 9. *perfidia plus quam Punica*. Cf. Horace's '*perfidus Hannibal*.' There is little in Livy's narrative to bear out what he says about Hannibal's vices. When Roman writers talk about '*Punica fides*' or '*Punica perfidia*,' we should compare English accounts of the French in the earlier part of this century. Southey, for instance, in his '*Life of Nelson*,' ch. iii., says, 'The French, who have never acted a generous part in the history of the world.' Polybius' in his discussion of Hannibal's character (9. 22-26), says that it is *very difficult* to form an estimate of him, or indeed of any great man, on account of the exceptional circumstances among which their lives are passed. He does not notice the charge of perfidy, but admits that the general impression among the Romans was that Hannibal was cruel, while the Carthaginians thought him rapacious. As to his rapacity, Mommsen well observes that as he had to support his army by plunder he can hardly have been otherwise than rapacious; as to his cruelty, while admitting



Polybius' defence that much of what is attributed to him (especially a suggestion that the troops must turn cannibals if they wished to cross the Alps) was really due to his friend Hannibal Monomachus, we must confess that Hannibal was cruel, but not cruel for a Carthaginian. It is unfair to give him no credit for his clemency to prisoners, or for his kindness to the young Italian trooper whom he found half dead upon the field of Cannae. There can have been no brutality in one who took such pains to bury the bodies of Roman generals opposed to him. Hannibal had many enemies at Carthage, and none but enemies at Rome; and therefore his character should be rather judged by the facts of his life as far as we can learn them, than from the rhetorical summary of a Roman, in spite of the perfection of his style.

*nulla religio*, '(he had . . .) no scruples of any kind.' '*Religio*' is the widest word in Latin for man's belief in the supernatural and its effect upon him.

§ 10. *triennio*. This proves that the account given in 3. 2 (see note on that passage), which Livy is still following, cannot be reconciled with the account given in ch. 1. For, according to the earlier account, Hannibal was nine years old when Hamilcar went to Spain (1. 4), therefore eighteen years old at Hamilcar's death nine years afterwards (2. 1), and therefore nearly twenty-six at the time of Hasdrubal's death, for Hasdrubal was '*octo ferme annos*' (2. 3) in Spain. Hence if he began to serve only three years before Hasdrubal's death he must have been at least twenty-two years old when he went to Spain, at which age no one could call him '*vixdum puberem*.' So that it is impossible to reconcile the two accounts.

*meruit*, sc. *stipendia*, 'served.'

§ 1. *provincia*. A metaphor from Roman custom, by which each consul had his province, or sphere of action, assigned to him at the beginning of his year of office. Chap. 5.

§ 3. *Quibus oppugnandis quia*, &c. 'And since an attack on Saguntum must necessarily rouse Rome to arms.'

*finis*, 'the territory.' A common use of the word, especially in Caesar.

*ultra Hiberum ea gens*, &c. 'A state which was on the farther side (from Rome) of the Ebro, and in Carthaginian territory, though not under Carthaginian rule,' i.e. Rome and Carthage had agreed that the Olcades should be subjects of the latter, but the Olcades had not as yet consented. The Olcades inhabited the district to the W. and S.W. of Saguntum.

*ut non petisse Saguntinos*, &c. 'so as to seem not to have intended to attack Saguntum, but to have been drawn into war with it by the chain of events following from the conquest of neighbouring nations and the consolidation of the empire.'

**Chap.** § 4. *quo metu* stands for 'cuius rei metu.'

**5.** **Victor.** The use of such words in an adjectival sense is common in Latin. Cf. 13. 8; 40. 11; 41. 11.

§ 5. *stipendioque*, &c. 'And by scrupulously discharging all arrears of pay.' The end of the sentence is anacoluthic. To make it grammar we ought to have either 'in duces firmatis,' or (retaining 'in se') 'promovit bellum.'

§ 9. *valloque ita producto*, &c. 'not having extended his entrenchments further than would give the enemy room to cross.' I.e. Hannibal left a clear space opposite the ford on the further bank. Notice the limiting sense of 'ita.' The following explanation may make the rest of the chapter clear. Hannibal first halted on the north bank of the Tagus. Then, watching his opportunity, he crossed and entrenched himself without bringing his lines quite up to the bank. He then placed his forty elephants on the south bank, and sent his cavalry to attack the enemy as they crossed. Lastly, he recrossed the river with his infantry and attacked and routed the remnant of the enemy who were collected on the north bank.

§ 10. *impeditum agmen*, 'the column at this disadvantage.'

§ 11. *invicta*, here 'invincible.'

§ 12. *feroces*, 'warlike.'

*et, quod metu*, &c. 'and (since they believed that fear had made the enemy retreat) thinking that the fact of the river being between them was the thing that delayed their victory.' The third 'et' in the sentence couples 'rati' to 'ingenio feroces' and 'multitudine freti,' the first 'quod' gives the reason for the Spaniards thinking as they did, the second 'quod' introduces the subject to 'morari,' for which we are already prepared by 'id.'

*qua cuique proximum est*: lit., 'by the way by which it (impers.) was nearest for each man.' An inverted way of saying 'each man by the way which was shortest for him.'

§ 13. *ex parte altera ripae*. 'Ripae' is the 'genitive of apposition' (cf. 'the city of London'), and the phrase simply means 'from the opposite bank.'

*concursum*, sc. est, 'the conflict took place.'

§ 14. *quippe ubi*, 'since there.' So 'quippe qui' means 'since he.'

*vado* here means not merely 'ford,' but the shallower parts of the ford near the banks, and is opposed to 'medios gurgites,' the strong deeper stream in the middle of the river. The foot-soldier would not find it easy to stand firm in three feet of water where the stream was strong, the trooper would be safe in four.

*temere*, 'at random.' No special attack was needed, an unarmed horseman could ride anyhow at a foot-soldier and knock him over.

§ 15. *ab elephantis obtriti sunt*, 'were trodden to death by the

elephants.' The elephant attacks with his feet, seldom, if ever, with his tusks. **Chap. 5.**

§ 16. *Postremi*: 'quum' begins the sentence from a grammatical point of view.

*fruit*. The indicative implies that they actually did return.

*ex varia trepidatione* means 'from the different places to which their alarm had driven them.'

*agmine quadrato*; not 'in square' but 'in order of battle,' which was a parallelogram (see Smith's Lat. Dict., s. v. *agmen*). As we shall see, forming an 'orbis' corresponded to the modern 'forming square.'

*fugam ex ripa fecit*, 'drove them from the bank,' i.e. from the north bank.

*Saguntinos* and *Carthaginiensium*. We should say 'all except *Saguntum* belonged to *Carthage*.'

§ 1. *cum finitimis* means between the Saguntines and their neighbours. **Chap. 6.**

§ 2. *Quibus quum adesset*, &c. 'And since the originator of the quarrel (i.e. Hannibal) appeared on the side of the Turdetani, and it was clear that,' &c.

§ 3. *Consules . . . erant P. Cornelius Scipio*, i.e. it was the year 218 B.C., the year of Ticinus and Trebia. This cannot have been the case, as we shall see in the notes on ch. 15, where Livy confesses that he has got confused between his authorities on the subject of the chronology. Livy ought to have given here the consuls of B.C. 219, M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus.

*de re publica rettulissent*, 'had brought forward the question of state affairs' (i.e. foreign policy). It was the duty of the presiding magistrate to propose the subjects that the senate was to discuss. Theoretically he asked the senators' advice, but the advice of a majority had the force of law. He asked them ('*sententias rogavit*') in turn. The order in which he thus called on them to vote and speak was apparently to some extent a matter of his own choice, at least this was the case in later Republican times, but it was customary for him to observe throughout his year of office the order which he had observed on the first day. Any speaker then might make a motion, and take the sense of the house upon it.

*placuisse*que, 'and it had been decreed.'

§ 4. *quibus si*, for 'qui, si iis.'

*et Hannibali*. This 'et' merely prepares the way for the 'et' before 'Carthaginem.' Its force is best given by translating the second 'et' by 'and also.'

*sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent*. Carthage, being at peace with Rome, ought, the Romans said, to listen to com-

**Chap. 6.** complaints that allies of Rome made at being threatened by a Carthaginian general.

§ 5. *hac legatione decreta, &c.* These words sum up as it were the sense of the long preceding paragraph, and prepare us for the apodosis.

*omnium spe celerius*, 'sooner than anyone expected.'

*relata de integro res*, 'the subject was proposed for discussion afresh.'

§ 6. *decernentes*. An *imperfect* present, 'proposing to decree.'

*censebant*, 'voted.' Each said, 'censeo terra marique rem gerendam.'

*intendebant*, 'were for directing.' Notice that the proposals were made by the other senators, and not by the consuls.

§ 8. *Haec sententia*, 'this proposal.'

*atque inde Carthaginem*; i.e. they were to proceed to Carthage and demand the surrender of Hannibal, if hostilities were not abandoned ('*si non absteretur bello*').

**Chap. 7.** § 2. *passus mille*, 1618 English yards. A Roman pace was counted from one heel-mark to the next heel-mark of the same foot; thus it was what we should call two paces. It was exactly 5 Roman feet, the Roman foot being 11.6496 inches.

*Oriundi*. 'Oriundus' from 'orior,' like 'secundus' ('sequundus') from 'sequor,' is a participial form. Thus we find 'volvendus' used as a present participle by Virgil and Lucretius.

*Zacyntho*. Zacynthus and Saguntum are merely two different Latinised forms of Ζάκυνθος.

§ 3. *in tantas . . . opes*, 'to this pitch of wealth;' 'tantas' refers to the statement in § 2, 'Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit.'

*fructibus*, produce. The 'produce of the sea' is of course foreign importations.

*disciplinae sanctitate*. 'Their national integrity' (lit. 'the purity of their training,' i.e. 'the integrity in which the state trained its citizens').

*fidem socialem*. The commentators point out that the Saguntines fought for themselves, and not for Rome. The really pathetic part of their situation was that the Romans gave them no help.

§ 4. *infesto exercitu ingressus fines*, 'having entered their territory with a hostile army,' i.e. having invaded it.

§ 5. *in planiorem, &c.*, 'abutting on a *part* of the valley more level and open than the rest.'

§ 6. *ut . . . ita*, 'whereas . . . yet.' A common Latin formula by which the writer merely points out that two statements are *equally* true, while he leaves it to his reader to contrast them.

It is a curious fact that sometimes 'ita . . . ut' can be used to express

the same idea as 'ut . . . ita.' Thus, 'though I like him, I am sometimes angry with him,' may be either, 'ut hominem amo, ita ei nonnunquam subirascor,' or 'ita hominem amo, ut ei nonnunquam subirascar;' 'ita' in the latter version having a limiting sense, as in 'vallo . . . ita producto, ut locum . . . hostes haberent' (§ 9).

*coeptis succedebat*, 'did the undertaking succeed.' 'Succedebat' is here used impersonally, as in 24. 38. 3: 'Cui (fraudi) quoniam parum succedit.'

§ 7. *ceterae . . . altitudinis*, 'the height of the rest (of the wall'). A condensed expression, like 'quo metu' in 5. 4.

§ 8. *nec quicquam satis tutum*, &c., 'and made every place dangerous to the pioneers of the enemy.'

§ 9. *quibus tumultuariis*, 'and in these skirmishes almost as many fell on the Carthaginian side as on the Saguntine.'

§ 10. *adversum femur*, 'full on the thigh.'

§ 1. *dum . . . curaretur*. 'Dum' with the subjunctive expresses a purpose (Madvig's Lat. Gr., English Translation, § 360, obs. 2). Nevertheless we must construe, *not* 'until the general's wound was cured' (which would require 'sanata esset'), but 'while the general's wound was being treated.' In such sentences as this the Romans pointed out by the use of the subjunctive mood a connection which Englishmen leave to speak for itself.

*ut . . . ita*. See note on § 6 of last chapter.

*munitionum* (cf. 'munitionibus' in § 8 of last chapter), as well as 'operum,' refers to the Carthaginian works.

§ 2. *vix accipientibus*, &c. 'although some places scarcely admitted of,' &c.

§ 3. *satis creditur*, 'it is nearly certain.'

§ 4. *ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda*, most probably means 'in order to defend and watch (go round) every point.' It might mean 'in order to defend every point and discharge every duty.' The words depend equally on 'distineri' and 'non sufficebant.'

*multifariam distineri*, &c. In order 'to defend every point,' &c., they began 'to be separated in many directions.' Having been thus separated 'non sufficebant,' there were not enough of them for the task.

'The Saguntines having now to divide their strength, so as to defend and watch every point, found that their numbers were inadequate.'

§ 5. *quassatae*, 'shattered.'

*una continentibus ruinis*, lit. 'one (part thus shattered) by its continued breach had exposed the city,' i.e. 'at one point the breach was so wide as to make the city defenceless.'

*deinceps*, 'in succession' (in space). They may have fallen simultaneously.

**Chap. 8.** § 6. *crediderant*. Notice the pluperfect. They soon found that they were wrong.

*qua*, 'and yet the result of it was' (that the Saguntines behaved just as if they had made a breach in a Carthaginian wall).

§ 7. *per occasionem partis alterius*, 'when either side has seized an opportunity.'

*iustae acies . . . constiterant*, 'the armies stood in regular battle array.'

§ 8. *Poeni cepisse*, &c. Lit. 'the Carthaginians believing that they had already taken the city if they were to make a slight effort;' 'cepisse' being epigrammatically put for 'capturum esse' to express the confidence of the Carthaginians. Or we may say that 'si paulum annitatur' is added as an afterthought to qualify the too strong 'cepisse.'

§ 9. *vano*. A predicate, 'without effect.'

§§ 10, 11. *Phalarica*. This weapon had a handle which was rounded except at the part into which the long steel head was fixed. This part was square, and round it too smeared with pitch was wound.

§ 11. *Sed id maxime . . . pavorem faciebat, quod*, &c., 'but the most alarming thing was that even if . . . &c., yet since it was sent with its middle part alight and the flame that it brought was made much fiercer by its motion through the air, it caused shields to be thrown away, thus leaving the soldier unprotected against the next blow.'

§ 12. *conceptum* can hardly be translated, but 'concipere ignem' is 'to catch fire,' and therefore 'conceptum ignem' is 'the fire that it had caught.' 'Maiorem' is equivalent to 'auctum,' and is therefore constructed with an ablative. Livy uses ablatives with great freedom.

**Chap. 9.** § 1. *pro victo*, 'as good as conquered.'

§ 2. *impeditum trepidantemque*, 'entangled and confused,' i.e. thrown into confusion by the difficult ground.

*fusum fugatumque*. A formula, 'in rout.'

§ 3. *nec Hannibali . . . operae esse*, lit. 'and that it was not worth Hannibal's while' ('operae' for 'operae pretium'), i.e. 'Hannibal had no time.' Polybius makes the envoys come to Hannibal while he is still at New Carthage and before he attacks Saguntum (3. 15).

§ 4. *ne quid pars altera*, &c. 'in order to prevent the opposition from making any concessions to Rome.'

**Chap. 10.** § 1. *ea quoque . . . legatio*: 'quoque' means 'as well as the one to Hannibal.' The ambassadors were the same in each case, so 'legatio' may be translated 'journey of the envoys.'

§ 3. *supersit*. In strict grammar 'superesset' ought to be used

here. For Hanno said 'that the treaty with Rome would never be safe, **Chap.** as long as there *was* anyone left of the race and name of Barca.' The **10.** oratio obliqua depends on 'obtestans,' which takes its character from 'egit,' and is therefore historic.

§ 4. *viamque unam ad id cernentem, si, &c.,* lit. 'and seeing (only) one way to this, (namely) if he . . . ' i.e. 'and seeing that the only way to obtain it is to live . . . ' Livy is thinking of Julius Caesar's policy of prolonging his command in Gaul.

§ 5. *rupta foedera sunt ulti.* See on 'ex foedere' in § 8. 'Ulti' agrees with 'Romani' implied in 'Romanae legiones.'

§ 6. *bonus,* of course ironical.

*sustulit,* 'has abrogated,' i.e. 'has disregarded.'

*res ex foedere repetunt,* 'they demand restitution' (or 'compensation') according to the treaty.'

*ut publica fraus absit,* 'so that the state may be free from guilt,' which it would not be if it made itself responsible for the action of Hannibal.

§ 7. *Aegates insulas.* These were off Lilybaeum. The Carthaginian fleet was defeated there in an action which ended the First Punic War.

*Erycem.* The mountain held by Hamilcar at the end of the First Punic War. See Introduction.

§ 8. *Mars alter,* 'a second Mars.'

*isti* is often a contemptuous word, and applied to opponents.  
*volunt,* 'will have it.'

*ex foedere,* 'as we ought to have done according to the treaty.'

The Epitome of Livy's XIVth book says '*Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis venit, quo facto ab iis foedus violatum est.*' Nevertheless no notice was taken of this (which happened in B.C. 272) until it was raked up as a grievance before the beginning of the First Punic War. Polybius shows, by quoting treaties between Rome and Carthage, that there was no clause in any treaty binding the Romans to keep out of Sicily and the Carthaginians out of Italy (*καθ' ὅς ἐδει Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι Σικελίας ἀπάσης, Καρχηδονίους δ' Ἰταλίας,* 3. 26).

The whole speech is of course Livy's. It is thoroughly Roman in feeling. Notice, besides the expression commented on in § 4, the tone of abject subservience to Rome, which could not possibly have had effect in a Carthaginian assembly. But neither Livy nor any other ancient historian ever meant us to suppose that the speeches which they put into their characters' mouths were really spoken by them. They are much too short, and correspond to the reflections and digressions of modern histories.

§ 9. *id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus, &c.,* has no grammatical connection with the rest of the sentence. Translate, 'and

**Chap.** the disputed point as to which of the two nations had broken the  
**10.** treaty was settled by the fortune of the war, which, like a just judge, gave victory to those who had justice on their side.'

§ 10. *Carthagini, &c.* 'It is against Carthage that Hannibal,' &c.

§ 11. *in eo, masc., 'in his case.'*

*paternas inimicitias*, 'my quarrel with his father.' This quarrel between Hanno and Hamilcar had arisen in the war with the mercenaries. For some time the two generals had commanded jointly, but they could not agree, so the government allowed the soldiers to choose which general they would have. They chose Hamilcar, and Hanno was recalled. Subsequently Hanno was again sent out to help Hamilcar, and the two were ordered to be reconciled to each other; but their friendship apparently did not last beyond the end of the war.

§ 12. *nec dedendum.* Supply 'censeo.'

*ad piaculum*, 'to be an atonement.'

*sollicitare*, 'trouble.'

§ 13. *ad res . . . reddendas*, 'to make restitution;' cf. 'res . . . repent' in § 6.

**Chap.** § 1. *nemini . . . necesse fuit*, 'no one thought it necessary.'  
**11.** *adeo prope omnis*, lit. 'so almost entirely was the senate on Hannibal's side;' i.e. 'so overwhelming a majority had Hannibal's party in the senate.'

**Flaccum Valerium.** The usual order is 'Valerium Flaccum.' The ambassador's full name was 'Publius Valerius Flaccus,' Publius being his own name ('praenomen'), Valerius the name of his 'gens' ('nomen'), and Flaccus what we may call his family name ('cognomen').

§ 2. *bellum ortum ab Saguntinis.* Hannibal had contrived that this should appear to be the case. See 6. 1, 'certamina cum finitimis serebantur,' &c. He had done this in order to justify his conduct to the Carthaginian government: he did not wish to justify his conduct to Rome. According to Livy he refused to see the Roman ambassadors (9. 3); according to Polybius (who makes them come to him before the siege) he received them, but answered them with absurd charges against Rome, being 'full of unreasonableness and violent anger,' while he repeatedly sent to Carthage for instructions, telling them that the Saguntines had been emboldened by their alliance with Rome to injure some of the subjects of Carthage (*πρὸς δὲ Καρχηδονίους διεπέμπετο πυνθανόμενος τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὅτι Ζακανθαῖοι . . . τινὰς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταπτομένων ἀδικοῦσιν*, Polyb. 3. 15).

*vetustissimae Carthaginensium societati.* The first treaty between Rome and Carthage was made, Polybius tells us, in the con-



sulship of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, the first consuls (i. e. B.C. 509. According to the ordinary account Horatius was never Brutus' colleague, but was elected to fill his place when he was dead). **Chap. 11.**

§ 3. *quia fessum militem . . . habebat*, 'because he found his soldiers tired.'

*pro contione*, 'before the assembled army.'

§ 5. *ut . . . ita*. Notice the frequency of this formula in Livy. It is almost like the *μέν . . . δέ* of Greek writers. The Saguntines had rest from battle, but not from engineering.

*ut novum murum . . . reficerent*. The 'novum' is proleptic.

§ 6. *oppugnatio eos*, &c. They were attacked by an assault fiercer than any that had gone before.

*qua primum aut potissimum*, &c. 'what place demanded their help first and most urgently.'

*satis scire poterant*, 'could they know for certain.' 'Satis' has a stronger meaning in negative (where it often means 'satisfactorily') than it has in positive sentences (where it often means 'tolerably,' see 'satis creditur,' 8. 3).

§ 7. *turris mobilis*, a tower on wheels. These were regular siege-engines and seem to have been of enormous size, the smallest used being nearly ninety feet in height and having a square base of which the side measured twenty-five feet. They tapered slightly towards the top. They were divided into several stories ('*tabulata*'). They carried slingers, archers, and engines of war, and in the lowest story there was a battering-ram. There were one or more drawbridges affixed to the tower by which the besiegers might pass on to the ramparts or towers of the besieged city.

Vergil (Aen. 12. 672 foll.) describes such a tower on fire:—

'Ecce autem, flammis inter tabulata volutus  
Ad caelum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat,  
Turrim, compactis trabibus quam eduxerat ipse  
Subdideratque rotas pontesque instraverat altos.'

*catapultis ballistisque*. The former threw darts, the latter stones. The propelling power was thongs or ropes (apparently of horse-hair). Probably a bar was inserted between two of these, twisted round and then secured by a catch, so as to be ready on being released to hurl forwards the stone or dart that was placed on one end of it.

§ 8. *occasionem ratus*, 'thinking that the time for this had come.'

*quod caementa*, &c. 'because the stones were not firmly fixed together with mortar, but merely joined with clay, according to an old fashion of building.'

§ 9. *latius, quam qua caederetur, ruebat*, lit. 'it fell down more widely than where it was being struck,' i. e. 'more fell down than was

**Chap.** actually assailed.' The part battered by the Africans brought down  
**11.** with it a great deal more of the hastily constructed 'new wall.'

*patentia ruinis*, 'the breach thus made.'

§ 10. *velut arcem*. There was a real Saguntine 'arx' in the town that we shall find mentioned below.

*Saguntini murum interiorem . . . ducunt*. The object of this was to put the Carthaginian 'arx' outside the diminished city.

§ 11. *muniunt*. The word is akin to 'moenia' (cf. Punicus and Poeni), 'raise walls.'

*interiora tuendo*. 'In dies' qualifies 'interiora' as well as 'minorem'; 'the Saguntines, by constantly contracting their line of defence, made their city smaller day by day,' i.e. their walls were constantly taken and they had each time to repeat the manoeuvre of putting the Carthaginians outside their city, and thus constantly lessened Saguntum.

§ 12. *inopia omnium*, 'the want of all necessities' (objective genitive).

*quum tam procul*, &c., 'since the Romans, their sole hope, were so far away, and all around was in the power of the enemy.'

§ 13. *affectos animos recreavit*, 'revived their drooping spirits.'

*qui duo populi*, &c. 'two tribes, who, terrified by the rigour with which troops were levied from them, seized the recruiting officers and showed alarming signs of revolt, when they were surprised by Hannibal's promptness and laid down their arms again.'

**Chap.** § 1. *cives*, 'his own soldiers.'

**12.** § 2. *aliquot*, 'several'; *aliquantum*, 'a considerable part.'

§ 3. *ad ipsam arcem*. The real Saguntine citadel.

*Tentata deinde per duos*, &c. 'Two men tried to make peace, small hope as there was of it.'

§ 4. *precibus aliquid moturum ratus*. 'Se' is understood: 'thinking that he would effect something by his prayers,' i.e. 'thinking that his prayers would have some effect.'

*condiciones . . . tristes*, 'harsh terms.'

*ut ab irato victore*, &c. 'as might be expected from an exasperated conqueror.'

*transfuga ex oratore*, &c. 'the ambassador turned deserter and stayed.' 'Ex oratore' means 'from being an ambassador.' For the sense of 'orator,' cf. 24. 3, 'oratores et regulos eorum misit;' and—

'Centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis

Ire iubet' (Verg. Aen. 7. 153).

'Ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam

Cum sceptro misit' (Ib. 8. 505).

'Iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina' (Ib. 11. 100).

*moriturum*, 'that any one would be put to death who,' &c.

§ 5. *Postulabatur autem*, 'The demands made were,' &c. '*Autem*' **Chap. 12.** is explanatory here, corresponding to the 'now' of old English, but is not to be translated in modern English.

*redderent res*, 'that they should make restitution,' as in 10. 13. This implies that some actual wrong had been done to the Turdetani by the Saguntines.

*cum singulis vestimentis*. This may possibly mean 'with one change of clothes besides what they had on.' Otherwise it will contradict '*cum binis vestimentis*' in § 7 of the next chapter.

*iussisset*. We say 'should order,' the more logical Romans said 'should have ordered.'

§ 6. *abnuente* is here practically equivalent to '*negante*,' but Livy naturally employed a word that implied refusal.

*vinci animos*, &c., a universal proposition ('that courage is subdued when,' &c.). From which Alorcus meant the inference to be drawn that the Saguntine courage was subdued in the present case.

*interpretem*. The negotiator.

*publice Saguntinis*, 'of the city of Saguntum.'

§ 7. *praetorem Saguntinum*. Cf. '*praetorem Campanum*' (23. 7. 8). This 'praetor' was probably both commander-in-chief and supreme magistrate at Saguntum. The Roman consuls were originally called 'praetors,' and the 'praetorship' (in the narrower sense) was instituted after the consulship had been opened to the plebeians, to provide as it were a third consul who must be a patrician. Cicero (ad Att. 9. 9. 3) says of the praetors, '*cum ita rogentur* ('are proposed for election') *ut collegae consulibus sint*,' though he adds '*quorum est maius imperium*.'

(*et ipse ita iubebat*.) These parentheses are common in classical Latin. Cf. '*eum praefecerat Hannibal*' in § 1 of this chapter.

§ 8. *senatus Alorco datus est*, 'Alorcus was given leave to address the senate.'

§ 2. *pro*, 'in consideration of.'

§ 3. *Vestra autem causa*, &c. 'That what I am now saying to you is said for your sakes, and yours only, let *this* fact prove,' (or 'this fact may prove'), 'the fact that I never,' &c. '*Vel*' gives emphasis to 'ea,' 'even this.'

*dum . . . restitistis . . . dum . . . sperastis*, 'as long as you held out,' &c.

'When the particle "*dum*" denotes what happens *while* something else happens (consequently contemporaneous); and especially what happens, *because* something else happens (occasioned by it), it is usually constructed with the present, although the action be past and the perfect (sometimes the pluperfect) used in the leading proposition . . . When "*dum*" signifies *as long as*, it never has the present, except of actually

**Chap.** present time; Hoc feci, dum licuit (Cic. Phil. iii. 13),’ Madvig, Lat.  
**13.** Gram. § 336, obs. 2.

§ 4. *pacem . . . magis necessariam quam aequam*, ‘terms of peace, which are all that you can demand, if not all that you might expect.’

‘*aequam*’ differs from ‘*iustam*.’ Alorcus would not charge Hannibal with injustice.

§ 5. *Cuius ita aliqua spes est*, &c. ‘There is no hope of this unless you listen to the terms with the belief that you are vanquished, just as Hannibal offers them with the knowledge that he is victorious, and unless, remembering that all you have belongs to the conqueror, you look not upon what you forfeit as a fresh loss, but regard all that is left to you as left out of generosity.’ The whole sentence is in the manner of Thucydides.

§ 6. *dirutam, captam . . . habet*. ‘Habet’ implies possession, or a lasting condition (cf. ‘*fessum habebat*,’ II. 3), but it is used here almost as an auxiliary; a use which must have been very common in vulgar Latin, and which has passed into Italian. In the English phrase ‘I have taken the city,’ ‘taken’ agrees with ‘city’ and is the past participle passive.

§ 7. *servat*, he promises to keep.

*cum binis vestimentis*. One on and one for change. See note on ‘*singulis vestimentis*’ in 12. 5. If the words will bear the meaning suggested there (which is very doubtful), we can easily understand that Alorcus used the word ‘*binis*’ so as to make the terms appear as good as possible to the besieged. Otherwise, we must suppose that Livy has made a slip of the pen.

§ 8. *haec, . . . fortuna vestra vobis suadet*, ‘to this your misfortunes counsel you to submit.’

*Equidem* is generally, but not always, used with the first person singular.

§ 9. *rapi trahique*. The words are often thus coupled.

**Chap.** § 1. *concilium*, ‘a meeting.’

**14.** *plerique*. Notice the position of the word. All the ‘*primores*’ were concerned in throwing the gold and silver into the fire, but they did not all throw themselves in.

§ 2. *per . . . ruinam eius*, through the breach made by its fall.

*signum . . . dedisset*. By no special sign, but by the mere fact of their charge.

§ 3. *non cunctandum in tali occasione*. This is merely an ornamental way of saying ‘thinking that it was a good opportunity.’ Livy does not mean that Hannibal was taking an unfair advantage. It would have been more generous to wait, but Alorcus was not an ambassador, nor was there a truce.

*Quod imperium crudele, ceterum*, To make the sentence

strictly grammatical, either 'ceterum' should be left out or 'fuit' inserted after 'crudele.' **Chap. 14.**

Livy here himself excuses Hannibal's cruelty; on which see note on 4. 9.

We find instances in Livy's history of like massacres committed by the Romans, but there is generally more excuse for them. But if the cultured Athenians on the *surrender* of Melos put all the adult males to death, and made slaves of the women and children (*ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὄσους ἡβώντας ἔλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραπύδισαν*, Thuc. v. 116), we cannot think conduct of the same kind atrocious in a Phoenician, brought up among a people who thought lightly of mutilation and torture.

§ 1. *corrupta*, 'destroyed' or 'spoilt.' Fire would not actually destroy gold or silver, though it would spoil works of art in those metals. **Chap. 15.**

§ 2. *tamen et ex pretio*, &c. 'yet it is certain that a large sum of money was realised from the sale of the goods.'

§ 3. *Octavo mense, quam*. Weissenborn compares iii. 8. 2, 'tertio die, quam interregnum inierat.'

*inde . . . deinde* mark successive stages, here of time.

*ab Carthagine*, from New Carthage.

§ 4. *in suo magistratu*, in their own year of office, i.e. not as pro-consuls, in which case they would have fought during the consulship of others. Livy's argument is that if Hannibal took eight months over the siege of Saguntum, say three or four in winter quarters and five on the march to Italy, altogether at least sixteen months, the men who fought against him as consuls in Italy could not have been consuls at the beginning of the siege of Saguntum, since the consuls held office for only a year. Livy must be allowed to have proved his point that he has got into difficulties with his chronology. A reference to Polybius might have helped him out of them, but he preferred to follow some more imaginative, if less accurate, historian, who gave a stirring account of the siege and capture.

According to the careful Polybius, Saguntum was taken in the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus (B.C. 219), after eight months' siege. The end of that year and the beginning of the next were spent by Hannibal in winter quarters at New Carthage.

He began his march shortly before the spring of B.C. 218, the year of the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the former of whom he defeated at the Ticinus, and both at the Trebia in the autumn of the same year.

§ 5. *aliquanto*, 'considerably.' Events would have had to be very considerably shorter to bring nearly all the siege of Saguntum and Hanni-

**Chap. 15.** bal's march into the space between March 15th (the day on which the consuls entered on office) and the beginning of winter. Livy's other alternative, Weissenborn remarks, would not agree with Hannibal's going into *winter* quarters immediately after the capture of Saguntum, for it would make him take Saguntum in the spring.

§ 6. *excessisse . . . non potest*, lit. 'cannot have slipped out into,' i.e. 'cannot have happened so late as.' Livy here disposes (quite justly) of the only means, except the right one, now left him of escaping out of his difficulties, namely, a suggestion that Trebia may have been fought in B.C. 217 (Scipio and Sempronius being proconsuls and not consuls at the time). His answer to this suggestion is, that at the battle of Trebia Cn. Servilius Geminus and C. Flaminius Nepos cannot have been consuls. For they were not elected until after Trebia, because it was after Trebia that Sempronius came to Rome to hold *as consul* the comitia in which Flaminius was elected.

*creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule*, 'having been elected under the presidency of the consul Ti. Sempronius.' So also below, '*ad creandos consules*' means to preside at the consular elections. At the time of the Second Punic War these elections seem, as a rule, to have been held in December.

**Chap. 16.** § 2. *patres*, 'the Senators.'  
*de summa rerum*, 'for the welfare of Rome.'  
 § 3. *nam*, 'for they were convinced that.'  
*rem Romanam*, 'Rome.'

§ 4. *Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios*. All the wars here mentioned took place between the First and Second Punic Wars. Corsica had been annexed shortly after Sardinia had been stolen; both islands had subsequently rebelled, and were subdued in B.C. 234.

The war against the Illyrians was begun in B.C. 229 to stop their piracy and to avenge the murder of a Roman envoy by Teuta their queen-regent. It was finished soon afterwards, the Romans making Demetrius of Pharos regent in place of Teuta for her son Pineus; but in B.C. 219, the Romans finding that Demetrius was attacking their subjects in Illyria, sent against him the consuls Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Marcus Livius Salinator, who took Pharos, Demetrius escaping to Philip of Macedon. It was this war which prevented the Romans from helping Saguntum.

The Histri were subdued in B.C. 221.

*et cum Gallis tumultuatum, &c.* (cf. 8. 7, '*tumultuariæ pugnae*'), 'and with the Gauls there had been more of skirmishing than war.' A rhetorical exaggeration, which is not meant as a statement of Livy's own opinion, but as an indication of the tone of speeches in the Senate. No doubt in the last war the Gauls had not been nearly so

formidable as Hannibal now was; nevertheless, the war had been a serious one. On the other hand, we should notice that 'tumultus' is specially used of civil war or war against the Gauls of Northern Italy. **Chap. 16.**

§ 5. *trium et viginti*. Like us the Romans said 'three-and-twenty' or 'twenty-three.' Though three-and-twenty years elapsed between the First and Second Punic Wars, the Carthaginian campaigns in Spain had not occupied all that time. Hamilcar went to Spain in B.C. 238, not B.C. 241.

*recentem ab*, 'fresh from.'

*trahere secum*, &c. 'already they were bringing with them numbers of Spanish nations whom they had persuaded to join them, to these they would add the tribes of Gaul, tribes ever hungry for battle; and the Romans would have to fight in Italy, and fight to save Rome with the whole world arrayed against them.'

§ 1. *Nominatae*, &c. The two provinces which Scipio and Sempronius were to divide had already been decided on by the Senate, they were now to draw lots to determine who was to have which. **Chap. 17.**

*consulibus*. It was now the winter of B.C. 219, therefore Scipio and Sempronius cannot have been consuls, though they may have been consuls elect ('*consules designati*').

§ 2. *socium*. Gen. plur.

*ipsis*. The consuls.

§ 3. *millia . . . mille*. For the construction of these words, see Madvig's Lat. Gr. § 72.

*quinqueremes*. Here an adjective agreeing with 'naves,' often used as a substantive.

*deducti*. Sc. *sunt*, 'were launched.' The word agrees with the nearer substantive '*celoces*,' which in Livy is masculine, but in other writers feminine.

§ 4. *vellent iuberent*. *Oratio obliqua*. What the magistrate said was '*Velitis iubeatis, Quirites*,' the '*et*' being omitted, as is usual in such formulae.

*supplicatio*. A solemn service of prayer and thanksgiving, generally connected with a *lectisternium*, for which see ch. 62. 8-9.

*quod bellum*. Notice that '*bellum*' is inserted in the relative and omitted in the antecedent clause.

§ 5. *quaterna . . . treceni*. Distributives. Each legion consisted of 4000 foot and 300 horse. See notes on 22. 36. 4.

§ 6. *ita*, restrictive, 'with orders not to cross into Africa unless his colleague was able unaided to keep the Carthaginians out of Italy.'

§ 7. *quia L. Manlius praetor*, &c. 'because the praetor, Lucius Manlius, had orders to go to (Cisalpine) Gaul, and he too was to have a strong force under him.'

**Chap. 17.** § 8. *maxime . . . deminutus*, lit. 'was especially cut down.' The sentence may be translated, 'It was the number of Scipio's ships that was especially small.'

*aut ea parte belli dimicaturum*, 'or would choose that element as his field of action.'

*cum suo iusto equitatu*, 'with their regular complement of cavalry.' This was 200 to each legion. See on 22. 36. 4.

*equitibus*, i. e. 'sociis.'

§ 9. *eodem versa in Punicum bellum*, 'all ready for the same purpose, namely, war with Carthage.' This seems the only possible sense to be got out of a hard and probably corrupt passage. As the passage stands, we must suppose 'versa' to agree with 'millia.' The forces mentioned in this section were under the command of the praetor, L. Manlius. See § 7.

**Chap. 18.** § 1. *maiores natu*. Men of advanced age were sent, as being more dignified.

§ 2. *et, si, id quod facturi videbantur*, &c. 'and to declare war against the people of Carthage, in event of their admitting that the attack had been made with the authority of the State, and defending it on that ground, a course which it was thought they would adopt.' 'Defenderent' means '(if) they should say in vindication,' and the acc. and inf. depend upon it just as much as they do on 'faterentur.'

§ 3. *quum senatus datus esset*. Cf. 12. 8 'senatus Alorco datus est.' The arrangement of the whole sentence is very idiomatic. We should make the clauses hang together in a different way in English: 'As soon as the Roman ambassadors arrived at Carthage, they were admitted to audience by the Senate, whereupon Quintus Fabius merely put to them the question that he had been instructed to ask.'

*tum ex Carthaginensibus unus*, a verb of saying is understood.

§ 4. *Praeceptis*, 'peremptory' (Church and Brodribb, and Capes).

*tanquam . . . oppugnantem*, 'on the ground that he was attacking.'

*verbis adhuc*, &c. 'if so far its words are milder, has yet a more hostile intent.'

§ 5. *insimulabatur*, 'was accused.'

*confessio culpae exprimitur*, 'you try to extort a confession of guilt;' 'ex-primere' is 'to squeeze out.' The whole paragraph means, 'All you ask is, "Are you guilty?" What you mean is, "You are guilty, and must repair the wrong."'

§ 6. *Ego . . . non . . . censeam*, 'I should not think.'

*iure an iniuria*, 'rightly or wrongly.'

§ 7. *animadversio* (punishment). The words 'atque animadversio' can have no grammatical connection with 'quid . . . fecerit,' and refer



only to the possibility of Hannibal having done something 'suo arbitrio.' The sentence is literally, 'To us belongs this inquiry (about) and punishment of our countryman, (to see) what he has done by our authority or (what) by his own.' This, Weissenborn observes, is short for 'To us belongs this inquiry into the conduct of our countryman, to see . . . own, and to us belongs the punishment of him, if he is found to have done anything on his own authority.'

*quid nostro aut suo* must stand for '*quid nostro aut quid suo.*' The expression is slightly contemptuous.

*vobiscum una disceptatio est*, &c. 'the only question that we have to discuss with you is whether the treaty allowed the attack to be made.'

§ 8. *Itaque quoniam discerni placet*, &c. Ironical. The speaker proceeds to show that Hasdrubal had made his treaty with Rome '*sua sponte*,' and that therefore that treaty could not be regarded as valid any more than the one concluded by C. Lutatius Catulus, which the Romans refused to recognise. Though the Romans did not ratify that treaty, they ratified a slightly altered form of it. C. Lutatius himself helped to negotiate this, the treaty mentioned in the present section ('*nobis vobiscum foedus est a Lutatio consule ictum*'). It is distinguished from the treaty which was annulled ('*quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit*,' § 10; cf. '*Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est*,' ch. 19, sec. 2). C. Lutatius was not really consul when the second of those treaties, the valid one, was concluded. His year of office had just expired. See Introduction.

§ 9. *At enim* introduces a supposed objection of the opponent.

*Saguntini exeiuntur*, 'the Saguntines are protected by a special clause.' We noticed on 2.7 that there was no such clause in the treaty with Hasdrubal. Polybius tells us that the Saguntines had put themselves under Roman protection several years before 'Hannibal's time,' i.e. before Hannibal's attack on their city. It must have been, therefore, very soon after the treaty with Hasdrubal that Saguntum became an ally of Rome. By making the alliance, the Romans certainly broke the spirit of their agreement with Hasdrubal. On the other hand, Hannibal did not violate that agreement in any way by attacking Saguntum, but he broke the earlier treaty (made at the end of the Second Punic War), in which Rome and Carthage agreed not to attack each other's allies. He did not break Hasdrubal's treaty until he crossed the Ebro on his march towards Italy.

§ 10. *quod C. Lutatius . . . foedus icit . . . negastis vos eo teneri*. For '*negastis vos eo foedere teneri, quod C. Lutatius nobiscum icit*,' '*icit*' is a rare form, '*percussi*' being generally used for the perfect (as '*ferio*' is for the present) of the supine '*ictum*.'

*aliud de integro foedus*, i.e. Catulus' second treaty (B.C. 241).

- Chap. 12.** § 12. aliquando, 'at last.'  
**18.** § 13. Sub hanc vocem, 'As soon as he had uttered these words.'  
 ferociter, 'boldly.'

daret, utrum vellet. Livy means that their words (translated into Latin) were 'Da, utrum vis.' Polybius says that when the Roman ambassador offered peace or war it was one of the Carthaginian kings who told him *ὁποῦτερον αὐτοῖς φαίνεται, τοῦτ' ἐκβαλεῖν* (to throw out whichever the Romans thought best). Otherwise his account of the proceeding agrees with Livy's, except that he says *πλείους* where Livy says 'omnes.'

- Chap. 19.** § 1. Ex, 'in accordance with.'  
 de foederum iure, 'about the rights of the case according to the treaties.'

quum ante, tum maxime, &c. 'especially now that Saguntum was destroyed:' 'quum ante, tum' is just like *ἄλλως τε καί*. We need not take 'excisa' (or 'excidium' in 16. 1) too literally.

excisa. The fem. form Saguntus is late, so we must suppose this to be a 'construction according to the sense' ('urbe').

§ 2. Nam: this explains what is implicitly but not explicitly told us in § 1, viz. that the Romans could have answered the Carthaginians 'de foederum iure,' if they had cared to do so.

si verborum disceptationis res esset, 'if the matter had been one to be discussed by words.'

quid foedus . . . comparandum erat. Illogically put for 'Romani rogare potuissent quid foedus . . . comparandum esset.' A like figure of speech is common in colloquial English.

§ 3. diserte, 'expressly.'

ita . . . si populus censuisset. Here again (as in 17. 6) 'ita' is strongly restrictive; 'that it was not to become valid, unless the people assented to it.'

The words of the treaty as given by Polybius were as follow:— 'Friendship to be on these terms between the Carthaginians and Romans, if the people of Rome agree to it. The Carthaginians are to evacuate Sicily, and not to make war upon Hiero, nor attack the Syracusans or their allies. The Carthaginians are to restore to the Romans all their prisoners of war without ransom. The Carthaginians are to pay to the Romans in 20 years 2200 Euboic silver talents.' This treaty ('Lutatii prius foedus' was *not* ratified.

In the amended treaty the amount of the war indemnity was increased to 3200 talents, to be paid in *ten* years, and it was also added that the Carthaginians should evacuate all the islands lying between Italy and Sicily. There seems to have been also a clause to the effect that each party should abstain from attacking the allies of the other.

nec . . . quicquam is equivalent to 'et nihil.'

ut ne mortuo quidem, &c. 'that nothing in it was changed even when the man responsible for it was dead.'

**Chap.  
19.**

§ 4. *Quanquam*, 'And yet.'

*iis qui tunc essent*, &c. These are quotations in *oratio obliqua*, representing imagined clauses in the treaty, which would be '*iis, qui nunc sunt, (sociis) exceptis*,' and '*ne qui (socii) postea assumantur*,' (let no allies be subsequently enrolled).

§ 5. *quis aequum censeret*. We should have expected '*censuisset*.' The argument is 'a fortiori.' If allowed to make new '*socii*,' of course the Romans might take anyone into their '*fides*' or '*amicitia*' (a weak form of '*societas*').

*tantum ne*, 'provided only that . . . not.' Livy's answer to the Carthaginian arguments, as they are given in the last chapter and in Polybius 3. 21, is very just. It may, as was said in a former note, be doubtful how far the acceptance of Saguntum into the Roman People's '*fides et amicitia*' was consistent with the treaty with Hasdrubal, but the Carthaginians who now repudiated that treaty could not object to Rome regarding Saguntum as her friend.

Carthage became the aggressor the instant that she made herself responsible for the attack on Saguntum. Hannibal, though for other reasons he had done what he could to put the Saguntines in the wrong, had certainly meant that attack to be a declaration of war against Rome. Polybius says that the attack on Saguntum certainly broke the treaty made with Lutatius, and that the Carthaginians were the beginners of the Second Punic War; but that they were quite justified in beginning it considering the way in which Rome had robbed them of Sardinia in the time of their distress.

§ 8. *celebre* has here almost the force of a participle.

§ 9. *Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis*. Each of the words in the first clause has a corresponding word opposed to it in the second. The opposition of '*perdo*' to '*prodo*' has especial force.

§ 10. *documentum*, 'a lesson' or 'a warning.'

§ 11. *ab nullo deinde*, &c. 'they met with no less hostile answers from any Spanish people, of whom they afterwards received audience.'

§ 1. *In his*. Sc. '*gentibus*' (implied in '*Gallia*' in the last sentence). **Chap.**

§ 3. *tantus cum fremitu risus*, 'such loud laughter.'

**20.**

§ 4. *adeo* gives the reason for the laughter. 'So stupid and impudent a request did it seem to suppose that the Gauls ought to bring the war upon themselves . . . so as to prevent it from reaching Italy.'

As the dependent sentence with '*ne*' comes first in the Latin, we have '*Galli*' there instead of having '*Gallos*' before '*ipsos*.' The appo-

**Chap. 20.** sition of 'postulatio' and 'censere' is somewhat illogical, but not too illogical to be preserved in translation.

§ 5. *meritum* is here a substantive.

§ 6. *contra ea* is equivalent to 'contra,' 'on the contrary.'

*gentis suae homines*, &c. Probably this alludes to the foundation of the Roman colonies, Placentia and Cremona, in Cisalpine Gaul. Preparations were being already made for the colonisation, which does not, however, seem to have been actually effected till B.C. 218. See chap. 25.

*stipendium*, here 'tribute.'

*cetera*, not merely 'other,' but 'the (i. e. all) other.'

§ 7. *Massiliam*. This town (now Marseilles) had long been an ally of Rome.

§ 8. *Ibi omnia*, &c. 'There the Romans learnt the result of the careful and faithful inquiries of their allies, namely, that Hannibal had already won over the minds of the Gauls.'

*ni subinde auro*, &c. 'unless he from time to time secured the good-will of the chieftains by gold.'

§ 9. *satis constante fama*, &c. 'for nearly all reports agreed in stating that the Carthaginians had already crossed the Ebro.'

**Chap. 21.** § 1. *non ducem solum*, &c. Hannibal may have sometimes feared that he would be dismissed from his command for attacking Saguntum, now he learnt that not only was he to be general, but that his surrender had been demanded and refused. Livy seems here to be following Polybius' account, who (with much greater probability) regards the demand for Hannibal's surrender to have been made by the second Roman embassy to Carthage, that is to say, by the embassy which was sent after the fall of Saguntum.

§ 3. *pacatis*, here 'having been subdued.'

§ 4. *ita . . . si*. Here again 'ita' is strongly restrictive.

§ 5. *commeatum*, 'leave of absence.'

§ 6. *edico adsitis*. Understand 'ut.' 'I give you notice to be here.' *bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum*, 'a war (that will be one of, i. e.) that will bring us great renown and plunder.'

§ 7. *ultro*. See note on 1. 3. As a rule, a soldier asks for furlough (and may have some difficulty in obtaining it), here no one asked and the general went so far as to offer it himself.

*desiderantibus*, *desiderium*. These words express the longing for anything lost or absent. Sometimes 'desidero' is merely 'I miss.'

§ 8. *inter labores*, &c., i. e. 'between their past hardships before Saguntum and the fresh ones that awaited them on their march to Italy.' 'Aut . . . aut' is used curiously here, when a single 'et' would be more natural.

ad edictum, i.e. 'diem' or 'locum,' (Capes).

§ 9. recensuisset, 'had reviewed.'

auxilia, 'the contingents.'

Hereuli. This means the Tyrian god Melcarth. Gades was an old colony of the Tyrians.

votis, si, 'vows, to be performed if.'

cetera means all his schemes of working vengeance on Rome. It was no doubt at Melcarth's altar that Hannibal had taken his first vow at his father's request. What the new vow was Livy does not tell us.

§ 11. pro eo supplementum, 'a force to fill their place.' This tells us that the 'validum praesidium' for Africa, mentioned in the last section, was to be taken from Hannibal's Spanish troops. This is told us again in the sentence 'ut Afri in Hispania,' &c.

levium armis, 'with light armour.'

velut mutuis pigneribus obligati. It is not easy to see what the 'mutua pignera' were. If they were the soldiers themselves, then it was rather the Africans and Spaniards who stayed in their country who were thus bound to each other as if by an exchange of hostages. But possibly Livy meant the 'pignera' to be the wives, children, and property of the absent soldiers, which were in each case confided to the protection of a force levied from those foreigners in whose country they were going to serve.

stipendia facerent, 'should serve.'

§ 12. castratos, 'armed with light shields.'

mixtos ex multis gentibus, 'composed of contingents from many different clans.'

§ 13. Has copias partim . . . partim, 'Some of those troops . . . some . . .'

praesidium eosdem et obsides, 'to serve at once as garrison and hostages.'

§ 2. Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, 'to his brother, the brave Hasdrubal.' Chap.  
22.

Africis . . . praesidiis, 'troops taken from Africa,' not all Africans, as we see from the explanation that follows.

§ 3. Libyphoenices. 'These included, on the one hand, the smaller settlements sent forth from Carthage along the whole north and part of the north-west coast of Africa . . . and on the other hand, the old Phoenician settlements' (i.e. the Phoenician settlements older than Carthage). Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, English Translation, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10. The 'Liby-phoenicians' were subjects of Carthage, but there was an equality of law between them and the Carthaginians.

§ 4. qua parte belli vicerant. The naval victory won by Lutatius

**Chap. 22.** off the Aegates insulae had brought the First Punic War to an end. For 'qua parte belli,' cf. 'ea parte belli,' 17. 8.

sed aptae, &c. 'but *only* thirty-two quinqueremes and the five triremes were equipped and supplied with crews.'

§ 5. Carthaginem. New Carthage is meant.

ducit, sc. 'exercitum,' 'marches.'

§ 6. in quiete, 'in a dream.' For this use of the word, cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 65, 'ducemque terruit dira quies.'

§ 7. cura ingenii humani, 'through natural curiosity.' 'Cura' is ablative and may be taken either with 'temperare . . . nequivisse,' or with 'agitaret animo,' according as we put a comma after 'humani' or after 'deinde.' There is no comma after either word in Madvig's text. This (if it be not a printer's error) will throw the 'deinde' into the 'quum' sentence, which seems awkward.

§ 8. fragore coeli, 'loud thunder.'

§ 9. moles, 'monster.'

pergeret porro ire represents the 'perge porro ire' which are supposed to be the actual words that Hannibal heard in his dream.

**Chap. 23.** § 1. Hoc visu laetus. Here then Livy accepts the story of the dream as authentic, though in the last chapter he only said 'fama est.'

Gallorum, . . . qua, 'of the Gauls, who lived where.'

§ 2. orae, 'region.'

Hannonem, not of course his enemy, Hanno.

fauces, 'the passes.'

§ 3. ad praesidium obtinendae regionis, 'as a force to hold the district.'

§ 4. Pyrenaeum saltum, 'the pass over the Pyrenees.'

inde . . . iter averterunt, 'deserted:' lit. 'turned aside their course from that place' ('inde').

non tam bello motos quam, 'that they were not so much alarmed at the idea of the war as,' &c.

§ 5. anceps, 'dangerous.'

§ 6. et ipsos, i. e. as well as the Carpetani.

**Chap. 24.** § 1. Iliberri. Accusative. Here the word is indeclinable, though in §§ 3 and 5 we have an accusative 'Iliberrim.'

§ 2. metu servitutis, &c. 'roused to arms by the fear of being enslaved.'

Ruscinonem. Now 'La tour de Roussillon.'

§ 3. colloqui semet ipsum. The oratio obliqua depends on the words 'oratores misit.' Hannibal is supposed to have sent the following message by his ambassadors: 'Colloqui cum vobis volo, (itaque) vel vos propius Iliberrim accedite, vel ego Ruscinonem procedam, ut ex

propinquo congressus faciliior sit.' The 'ipsum' is added to show that 'semet' is singular and therefore refers to Hannibal, and not to the 'oratores.' **Chap. 24.**

§ 4. *et . . . nec.* Cf. '*nec . . . et*' in 19. 3: 'In Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et . . . ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus,' &c.

*nec stricturum ante*, &c. 'and he would not draw his sword, unless the Gauls forced him to do so, before he came to Italy.'

§ 5. *haec.* Supply 'egit' or 'acta sunt.'

*cum bona pace.* A formula, 'in peace.'

§§ 1, 2. *perlatum erat, quum.* This is like the English, but unlike the more ordinary Latin, idiom. See 11. 13, '*metum defectionis quum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.*' **Chap. 25.**

§ 2. *circa Padum.* Cremona on the north, Placentia about sixteen miles E. S. E. of it on the south bank.

*colonias . . . deductas.* 'Deducere' is the regular word for founding a colony. Such colonies as Placentia and Cremona (which were Latin colonies, to be distinguished from the old colonies '*civium Romanorum*') were planted as garrisons in newly conquered land.

§ 3. *ipsi triumviri Romani*, 'the Roman committee of three.'

*ad agrum . . . assignandum*, i.e. to divide the land among the colonists.

*Mutinam.* This was about seventy miles S.W. of Placentia.

§ 5. *Id quoque dubium est*, &c. 'It is also doubtful whether the men who were ill-used were envoys sent to the Boii to remonstrate, or whether the commissioners were attacked in the act of measuring the land.' However, in §§ 7 and 8 Livy calls them 'legati.'

§ 7. *fide*, 'promise.'

*obsides.* The hostages given to the Romans by the Gauls at the end of the last war.

*redderentur.* We should expect '*redditi essent.*' For the Gauls said '*non eos dimitemus, nisi obsides nobis redditi erunt.*'

§ 8. *effusum*, 'in loose order.'

§ 9. *praecipitat.* Here intransitive.

*aegre*, 'with difficulty.'

§ 10. *satis constabat*, 'there was little doubt.' Cf. '*satis constante fama*,' 20. 9.

§ 13. *Gallis territandi et pavendi . . . Romanis.* Notice the use of the figure 'chiasmus,' by which the order observed in the first two words here is reversed in the two last.

§ 14. *ad tempus*, 'temporary.'

*commeatibusque fluminis*, 'and by means of the supplies brought by the river.'

**Chap. 25.** **Brixianorum.** Brixia was the capital of the Cenomani, who are here meant.

**Chap. 26.** § 1. **tumultus.** The word is specially used of a rising of the Gauls ; see on 16. 4.

§ 2. **conscriptis** refers to the five thousand allies only.

§ 3. **eius**, sc. 'legionis.'

§ 4. **pluribus enim divisus.** 'Pluribus' is an ablative of description, and 'divisus' is used absolutely. Otherwise it would have to be followed by 'in' with the accusative.

§ 5. **Quem ut de Rhodani**, &c. 'When he discovered that he was actually ('quoque') thinking about crossing the Rhone.'

**quonam ei loco occurreret.** This can only mean 'where to meet him.'

**auxiliaribus Gallis.** These were mercenaries in the service of the Massilians (Pol. 3. 41).

§ 6. **Colunt.** Absolute.

**citeriore.** From Hannibal's point of view. So also 'ulteriorem' below.

**suis**, 'their property.'

§ 7. **et eorum ipsorum.** The Volcae are meant ; understand 'illos.' **quos sedes suae tenuerant**, &c. 'who had been kept from crossing by the love of home.'

**simul et ipsi.** This is an anacoluthon. In strict grammar 'Hannibal' should have been made the subject of this sentence.

**tanta hominum urgente turba**, 'from the burden of having so large an army quartered on them.'

§ 8. **temere**, 'roughly.'

**novasque alias.** Though in strict grammar these words are the object of 'cavabant' only, yet their sense affects the whole sentence ; and this should be brought out in translation. Indeed the structure of the sentence, though not its descriptive force, would have been improved if Livy had omitted the words 'alveos informes.'

**cavabant**, Weissenborn says, is equivalent to 'cavando faciebant.'

**Chap. 27.** § 1. **hostes.** Nominative.

**equites virique**, 'horse and foot,' or, as we should say, 'with their horse and foot.' The apposition of 'viri' to 'equites' is strange ; we should expect either 'equites peditesque' or 'equi virique.'

§ 2. **Quos ut averteret**, 'To distract them.'

§ 3. **adverso flumine**, 'up stream.'

**quum opus facto sit**, 'when the time came for striking a blow.'

§ 4. **Ad id**, 'for that purpose.'

**inde . . . supra**, 'above the place where they were.' The sense of



the passage is that about twenty-five Roman miles above Hannibal's camp there was an island and shallow water round it. **Chap. 27.**

**transitum.** This word is the object of 'ostendere,' and is qualified by the words 'latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo.' The subject to 'ostendere' is 'amnem.'

§ 5. **in quibus . . . traicerentur,** 'for transporting.' It is hard to see what was the advantage of choosing a broad and shallow part of the stream since it was not to be forded but crossed on rafts.

**sine ulla mole,** 'without any difficulty.' Apparently the Spaniards put their clothes on these inflated skins so as not to have to carry them. Then resting their shields on the top of the clothes and their bodies on their shields they paddled across with their feet.

§ 6. **alius exercitus** means the rest of Hanno's detachment.

**opportune,** 'at the right moment.'

§ 7. **edito** belongs to 'loco,' not 'fumo.'

**ne tempori deesset,** 'not to miss his opportunity.' Church and Brodribb.

§ 8. **adversi impetum fluminis,** 'the rush of the stream.'

**parte superiore,** 'at a point further up.'

§ 9. **instratos,** 'saddled.'

**ut extemplo, &c.** 'so as to be ready for their riders as soon as they landed.'

§ 2. **ex altera ripa.** The right bank.

**traicientes** is accusative.

§ 3. **anceps,** 'on both sides.'

§ 4. **utroque** goes with 'vim facere.' 'The Gauls finding themselves repulsed in whichever direction they tried to charge.'

§ 5. **varia consilia fuisse.** Livy, finding different accounts of the way in which the elephants crossed the Rhone, thinks that possibly several different methods were employed.

**variat memoria actae rei,** 'there are different accounts of the method adopted.'

**ferocissimum** here means 'the fiercest,' but only because it means 'the most high-spirited,' the two qualities being identical in an angry elephant.

**traxisse gregem, &c.** 'drew all the others after him, the stream carrying each animal to the opposite bank, as soon as it lost its foothold, frightened though it was at the deep water.'

§ 6. **id, i.e. 'ratibus traicere elephantos,'** but in the next sentence the 'id' (understood) will mean 'eos ratibus traictos esse.'

§ 7. **ducentos longam pedes.** It stretched 200 feet out into the river and was 50 feet 'broad,' i.e. when measured along the bank,

**Chap. 28.**

**Chap.** in which direction both the fixed and the moveable raft described in  
**28.** the next section were equal, so as to fit exactly.

a terra in amnem goes with 'porrexerunt.'

secunda aqua, 'down stream.'

parte superiore ripae, 'a part of the bank higher up (stream).'

pontis in modum goes with 'constraverunt.'

humo, 'earth.'

solum, 'land.'

§ 8. tum elephantī. The sentence will begin in English, 'then, when ('ubi') the elephants.'

§ 10. donec . . . agerentur. The subjunctive here with 'donec' in the sense of 'so long as' is irregular, for the animals did not keep quiet *in order to* walk on the rafts; see Madvig's Latin Grammar, § 360, obs. 2.

ab ceteris, 'from its surroundings' (Church and Brodribb), i. e. from the fixed raft.

§ 11. inter se (ἀλλήλους, 'each other') is the object here, as if it were one word, of 'urgentes.'

donec . . . fecisset. With 'donec' in the sense of 'until,' even where no design is expressed, the subjunctive, though less usual than the indicative, is not irregular; see Madvig's Latin Grammar, § 360.

§ 12. saevientes. Frightened animals are often described as 'infuriated.'

pedetentim. Here in its literal sense. Polybius, from whom Livy probably took the account of the passage of the elephants by means of rafts, says that those which fell into the water waded most of the way across, holding only the tips of their trunks out of the water (a well-known habit of elephants). But Livy does not seem to know that elephants can swim ('nantem' in § 5 has probably crept into the text from a commentator's marginal note).

**Chap.** § 2. alae. The word was originally used to denote one division of  
**29.** the legionary cavalry, which was drawn up on both flanks (wings) of the infantry. Hence it is used generally for a detachment of horse.

quam pro, lit. 'than in proportion to.'

§ 3. praeter multa vulnera means 'besides the fact that many were wounded.'

fugaque et pavor, &c. 'and it was only the panic of the Numidians that gave,' &c. (Weissenborn).

Victores. The nominative here and in 'victi' is used, instead of the more natural genitive, because the genitives of the two words are identical in form.

sed pars Gallorum, 'but part consisted of Gauls.' Here we might have expected 'sed pars Galli,' but Livy probably wished to avoid the jingle 'Romani . . . Galli, victi.'

*amplius*. For 'amplius quam.'

§ 4. *ut . . . ita*, 'although . . . yet.'

*ancipitisque*. 'Sed' would be more logical than 'que,' as a negative has gone before, but 'haud sane incruentam' is equivalent to 'admodum cruentam.'

*ancipitis . . . certaminis victoriam* means 'victory won by a severe (lit. doubtful) struggle.'

§§ 5, 6. *nec Scipioni*, &c. 'Scipio could decide on no course other than that of regulating his movements by the plans and conduct of the enemy, while Hannibal, who had been doubtful whether at once to press on his march to Italy, or fight with the Roman army which had been the first to offer itself, was at last determined to avoid an immediate contest by the arrival of Boian envoys with the chief Magalus. These promised to be his guides and to share his dangers, and advised him to let his attack on Italy be the beginning of the war, without impairing his strength in any previous struggle.'

§ 5. *stare sententia poterat*. Cf. § 1 of the next chapter: '*ipsi sententia stetit*.'

§ 6. *nusquam*, 'nowhere.'

§ 7. *iter immensum Alpesque*. A hendiadys, 'the endless journey over the Alps.'

*utique* qualifies '*inexpertis*,' 'to the inexperienced, at any rate.'

§ 1. *pergere ire*. Cf. '*pergeret porro ire*' (22. 9).

*varie . . . versat*, 'tries to work upon . . . in various ways,' viz. '*castigando adhortandoque*' (Weissenborn).

The speech which follows in the *oratio obliqua* depends on Hannibal '*versat castigando*,' &c., i. e. on a historic present, which may be regarded either as a primary or a historic tense. Which Livy meant it to be is not clear, for he has been fairly impartial between the primary and the historic tenses in the subordinate clauses of the speech. Nevertheless such a variation is common even when the *oratio obliqua* depends on a verb actually past, and corresponds to the change from the perfect to the historic present in *oratio recta* (see Dean Bradley's edition of Arnold's *Lat. Prose Comp.* § 525, p. 328).

§ 2. *facere*. The use of the present must be justified by the fact that the soldiers were still serving. It is however harsh.

§ 3. *quicunque*, 'all who,' an exaggeration.

§ 4. *ab occasu solis ad exortus*. From New Carthage to the Rhone. The direction was more north than east.

§ 5. *superatum* and *traiectum* depend like '*emensam*' on '*cernant*.' Notice the asyndeton throughout this section.

*quarum alterum latus*, &c. 'the other side of which was Italian.'

§ 6. *quid Alpes*, &c. 'and yet what did they think the Alps were

**Chap.  
29.**

**Chap.  
30.**

**Chap. 30.** except lofty mountains?' This sentence introduces a fresh argument, and it is to this sentence alone that the note of interrogation belongs.

§ 7. **Fingerent** represents the 'fingite' ('suppose') of *oratio recta*. **profecto**, 'at any rate.'

**pervias fauces**, &c. 'their defiles were passable for armies.'

§ 8. **pinnis sublime elatos**, &c. 'borne aloft on wings.'

**Ne maiores quidem**, &c. The Boii (of whom Hannibal is speaking) now dwelt in Cisalpine Gaul, and had migrated thither across the Alps, therefore the Alps were not impassable. The opposition is between 'indigenas' and 'advenas.'

**migrantium modo** is a comment on 'cum liberis,' &c.

**tuto**. Adverb.

§ 9. **quidem** is not to be translated, for it merely gives emphasis to 'milite armato.'

**exhaustum esse**. 'The questions which occur in the *oratio directa* in the indicative are expressed in the *oratio obliqua* by the accusative with the infinitive, if the first or third person was employed in the direct style, but in the conjunctive, if the second person was made use of.' (Madvig, Lat. Gram. § 405 a).

§ 10. **quod** is equivalent to 'ut id' ('that it'), but usually we have simply 'ut' after 'adeo.'

§ 11. **cederent . . . sperent**. See note on § 1. 'Cedere' here means to confess one's self inferior.

**genti**. The Gauls.

**campum**. The Campus Martius.

**Chap. 31.** § 2. **adversa ripa**, lit. 'up the bank,' i. e. along the bank, up stream. **non quia . . . esset**. The subj. implies that the way was not more direct. (It was, in fact, less direct.) The indicative ('non quia . . . erat') would imply that the way was more direct, but that its directness was not Hannibal's reason for choosing it.

**quantum**. From this word supply its antecedent 'tanto' before 'minus.'

§ 4. **Quartis castris**, 'after four days' march.'

**Isara**, the Isère.

**agri . . . amplexi**, 'amplexi' agrees with 'Isara Rhodanusque;' 'agri' is the genitive after 'aliquantum.'

**Insulae** is not genitive, but dative, as in the phrase 'mihi nomen est Caio.'

§ 5. **iam inde**, 'which had even then begun to be.'

§ 6. **discors**, i. e. with itself.

**fratres**, 'two brothers.'

**pellebatur**. Strictly *imperfect*.

§ 7. **peropportuna** has the force of an adverb.

reiecta esset, 'had been entrusted.'

§ 8. *infames frigoribus Alpes* is a poetical way of saying, 'the reports of the intense cold of the Alps.'

§ 9. *non recta*, &c., 'did not begin his march in a direct line (for the Alps).'

*ad laevam*. From the place where the Isère joins the Rhone Hannibal must have turned to the right to go to the country of the Tricastini, unless, as Capes suggests, he first marched down stream.

*Druentiam*. The Durance.

§ 10. *et ipse*, as well as the Rhone and the Isère.

*fluminum difficillimus*. For the masculine, Weissenborn compares Cic. de Natura Deorum. '*Indus, qui est omnium fluminum maximus.*' *quum*, 'although.'

*vim*, here 'quantity,' not 'force.'

§ 11. *neque iisdem alveis* means that the Durance often formed new channels, leaving the old ones.

*vada* and *gurgites* are governed by '*praebet*.' They mean respectively shallow and deep water; as in 5. 14, and we are to understand that the deep places became shallow, and the shallow deep, from time to time.

*pediti quoque*, 'even to a man on foot,' i.e. not only to ships.

*ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens*, &c. Supply a conjunction. 'And since besides all this it brings along with it stones and gravel, it affords no firm or safe footing.'

§ 12. *forte . . . auctus*, 'happening to be swollen.'

*super cetera*. 'Super' here means 'besides,' and governs 'cetera,' which is neuter plural.

§ 1. *quadrato agmine*, 'with his army moving in line of battle,' as in 5. 16. **Chap. 32.**

*facturus* expresses Scipio's intention.

§ 2. *tutius faciliusque . . . occursurus*, 'because he knew that in this way he would meet,' &c.

§ 3. *sortitus erat*, 'had obtained by lot.'

§ 4. *conciliandosque novos*, 'and winning others.'

§ 5. *defensurus*, like '*facturus*' in § 1. On the free use of these future participles in Livy see Excursus, p. xxiii.

§ 6. *campestri*, 'over a flat country.'

*cum bona pace*. A formula, as in 24. 5 '*cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.*'

§ 7. *fama . . . praecepta res erat*, lit. 'the reality had been anticipated by means of rumour.'

*torrida frigore*, 'parched with cold.'

*foediora*, 'more horrible.' Livy does not explain why there was such a hard frost on the lowest slopes of the Alps at that time of year.

**Chap. 32.** But he was not acquainted with the Alps except on their Italian side, and knowing that their further slopes were colder, he seizes an opportunity for a description of the effects of a severe climate.

§ 8. *imminentes*, agrees with 'tumulos.'

§ 9. *transitum ea non esse*, 'that he could not pass that way.'

§ 10. *haud sane multum* is something like our colloquial 'not so very much.'

*lingua moribusque*, 'in their language,' &c.

*abhorrentes*, 'different.'

§ 11. *Die deinde simulando aliud*, &c. Livy's solemnity here suggests that he thought this an instance of 'perfidia plus quam Punica.'

§ 13. *cum expeditis, acerrimo*, &c. 'with a light-armed force, consisting of all his bravest soldiers.'

**Chap. 33.** § 2. *quum repente conspiciunt*. The ordinary Latin idiom would place the 'quum' in the previous sentence, as has been noticed before.

*via*, 'by the road,' i. e. by the path through the valley below.

§ 3. *immobiles*. Predicate.

*misceri*, 'thrown into disorder.'

§ 4. *quicquid*. As with our word 'whatever,' the antecedent (which forms the subject to 'fore') is understood.

*per diversis rupibus iuxta invia*, &c. The 'per' is out of its natural position, for it belongs to 'invia ac devia,' 'iuxta' being here an adverb and not a preposition; 'iuxta invia ac devia' means 'pathless places just as much as difficult places,' and the whole passage means that the Gauls ran down over places where the scattered rocks not only made the path difficult, but often made it impossible that there should be any path at all. 'Knowing the ground well, they ran down slopes which the scattered crags made always difficult, and often precipitous.'

§ 5. *tendente*. Intransitive.

*evaderet*. This verb is constructed with the ablative (with or without 'ex') and the accusative, as in § 13 of the last chapter. However, the construction with the accusative is not Ciceronian,

§ 6. *infestum . . . faciebant*, 'endangered.'

*clamoribus dissonis*, i. e. the cries raised by the men. Ablative of instrument after 'territi.'

*repercussae*. In reality it was not the valleys but the sounds that were 'beaten back.'

§ 7. *quum praecipites deruptaeque utrinque*, &c. 'since the defile was precipitous on both sides.' It is hard to see what can have been the exact idea in Livy's mind as he wrote this. The Carthaginians were apparently going along a valley, and even if we suppose them some way up the slopes on one side, the precipitous nature of the hills on the other side could not affect them now, though it no doubt determined their

choice of a path. There was certainly only one way in which they could fall, unless it is meant that they were on the ridge which separated one valley from the next, in which case Livy is very far from explicit. Chap. 33.

*quosdam et armatos*, 'some of whom were armed soldiers;' 'et' (which is not to be translated) means 'even' or 'actually,' not 'and.' It is implied that the rest of the 'multi' were drivers of the pack-horses, and so forth.

*sed ruinae maxime modo*, &c. 'while the pack-horses fell over the cliffs like stones from a shattered wall,' i.e. they fell down one after another in quick succession.

§ 8. *foeda*, 'horrible;' cf. '*foediora*,' 32. 7.

§ 9. *ne . . . traduxisset*. Notice the tense, 'that he would find he had brought . . . through the pass.'

*exutum impedimentis*, 'if the baggage-train were lost' (Capes).

*et, quum impetu*, &c. Lit. 'and though he put to rout . . . he increased the confusion of his own men also.' Translate, 'and routed the enemy at the first onset, though he also added to the confusion of his own soldiers.'

§ 11. *magno opere*. Often written '*magnopere*.'

§ 1. *ut inter montanos*. Lit. 'considering that (it was) among highland (districts).' Translate, 'for an Alpine one.' Chap. 34.

*populum*, 'district.'

*suis artibus, fraude*, &c. Livy has as yet given us no examples of 'fraus' on Hannibal's part.

§ 2. *alienis malis . . . doctos memorantes*, &c. 'saying that taught by the misfortunes of others . . . they preferred,' &c.

§ 3. *ad fidem promissorum*, 'as a guarantee of their promises.' *acciperet*, 'and they begged him to accept.'

§ 4. *ne repudiati*, &c. explains '*nec aspernandum ratus*' only. *aperte* goes with '*hostes*.'

*nequaquam ut inter pacatos*, &c. 'with his army by no means in the formation adopted among a friendly people.'

§ 5. *post*. Adverb.

§ 6. *parte altera*, 'on one side.'

§ 7. *haud dubium fecit*, i.e. proved by the stubborn resistance which they encountered.

§ 8. *ipse*, i.e. with his infantry. The sense is that the infantry could protect the rear of the cavalry, but in so doing must leave their own rear exposed.

§ 9. *occursantes per obliqua*, 'attacking him in flank.'

§ 2. *Inde*, 'After this.'

*conkursabant*. With 'in' this means 'made rapid attacks upon.' *progressi morative*, 'men who had,' &c. Chap. 35.

**Chap.** § 4. *iugum*, 'the ridge,' i. e. the highest point in their ascent.

**35.** *errores* means 'strayings from the right path.' Livy means that the Carthaginian army was delayed by marching over difficult ground where there was no track (*invia*), and often by going the wrong way and having to retrace its steps.

*temere*, 'at random.'

§ 5. *in rupibus*. Not 'in *rupes*' or 'ex *rupibus*.' These were not the animals who had fallen over the precipices, none of whom would be at all in a position to follow up the army, but others who had fallen in passing over rough ground and had been left behind.

§ 6. *Vergiliarum*. The Pleiades. The time of their setting was the end of October, but Livy does not mean any more than that their setting was near. The time that Hannibal arrived at the summit need have been no later than the end of September.

§ 7. *pigritia*, 'listlessness.'

§ 8. *Circumpadanos campos*. It is impossible that these could have been seen from the top of any pass which Hannibal is likely to have followed. Polybius has the same account, which is too definite to justify us in saying with Capes that 'the description of Polybius does not imply any such actual view of the plains of Lombardy.'

§ 9. *proclivia*, uniting as it does the ideas of 'sloping' and 'easy,' to some extent begs the question. See the end of the chapter.

*uno aut summum altero*, &c. 'after one battle or at most two.' Notice the use of the cardinal '*uno*' with the ordinal '*altero*.'

§ 10. *parva furta*, 'insignificant surprises.'

§ 11. *sicut breviora, ita*, 'have shorter and therefore steeper slopes.'

§ 12. *ut neque*, &c. 'so that neither could they keep themselves from slipping, nor when they had once stumbled could they plant their feet so as to avoid a fall.'

**Chap.** § 1. *multo angustiore rupem*, &c. 'a much narrower rocky path among crags so perpendicular,' &c. Livy's descriptions of the Alps are throughout vague. Apparently the army are now descending from the ridge by a path obliquely crossing the steep slope on its Italian side.

*aegre*, 'with difficulty.'

*expeditus miles*, 'even a light-armed foot-soldier.'

*tentabundus*, 'cautiously feeling his way.'

*circa*. Adverb.

§ 2. *Natura . . . iam ante praeceps*, 'always naturally precipitous,' not perpendicular, which neither '*praeceps*' nor '*precipitous*' need mean. '*Rectis*' in § 1 is an exaggeration, as is shown by its being qualified by '*ita*.'

*admodum*, 'about.'



§ 4. *Haud dubia res visa, quin*, 'There was no doubt that (he must).' **Chap. 36.**  
Note the use of 'res' here.

*per invia circa nec trita antea*, 'through the trackless and as yet untrodden wilds around.'

§ 5. *nam . . . insistebant*. Though apparently introduced by 'nam' it is not this clause, but the one which ends with 'ingrediebantur,' which gives the reason why the way was 'inexsuperabilis.' The 'insistebant' clause ought logically to be subordinate to the 'ingrediebantur' clause (§ 6). The *sense* is, 'the difficulties were now insurmountable, for though the first few who attempted to pass could find a firm footing in the new snow which lay on the top of the old hardened snow, yet when this covering had disappeared there was no possibility of standing.'

§ 7. *Taetra*, 'terrible.'

*ut a lubrica*, &c. 'such as would naturally be caused by slippery ice which gave no foot-hold (lit. took no foot-mark), and was the more treacherous as it was on a slope.' But the sense is much improved by the omission of the doubtful words 'ut a.'

*ad quas*, &c. 'for a man to push against with foot or hand.'

*ita in levi*. 'Ita' here introduces the consequence, 'and so.'

*tantum*, best translated by 'mere:' 'on mere smooth ice.'

§ 8. *iactandis gravius*, &c. 'by striking out violently with their hoofs in their efforts to rise.'

§ 1. *nequicquam*, 'without producing any effect.'

*aegerrime*, 'with great difficulty.' 'Tantum' in the next sentence introduces the reason for this difficulty, 'so great was the quantity of snow which had to be,' &c. **Chap. 37.**

§ 2. *ad rupem muniendam*, 'to make a road through the rock.'

*ducti* is here a participle, and does *not* stand for 'ducti sunt.'

*arboribus circa immanibus*. Yet we learn from § 4 that 'nuda fere . . . cacumina sunt,' and even supposing that Livy means they were bare of grass, *a fortiori* they would be bare of trees. Besides, not far from this point there were not even any 'stirpes circa radicesve' (36. 7).

*saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt*. If this was really done by Hannibal, the rock must probably have been limestone, for only this or some other form of chalk would be rapidly decomposed by vinegar. The question where the vinegar came from is difficult to answer. Hannibal could not have brought it with him on purpose. It has been suggested that the sour wine of the soldiers was used, but this would make rather weak vinegar, and further Plato mentions a law of the Carthaginians forbidding their soldiers to drink any wine during a campaign (Laws, 2. 674 A). Perhaps the Spanish troops may have been allowed to bring wine with them. Polybius does not mention the use of vinegar at all.

**Chap. 37.** § 3. *molluntque anfractibus*, &c. 'making the slopes gentler by means of winding paths.'

§ 5. *prope*, 'almost.' Livy, who was a native of Patavium, seems to have had some knowledge of the Italian slopes of the Alps. But he never thought of crossing them, as Polybius did, to improve his knowledge of Hannibal's route.

**Chap. 38.** § 1. *Hoc maxime modo*. Lit. 'Pretty much in this way.' *quinto mense*, 'in five months.' Polybius agrees with this. It would bring Hannibal to Italy in October, for he started from New Carthage in May.

*quinto decimo die*. So Polybius. But this does not agree with the time specified in Livy's detailed account. According to Polybius, who is more consistent, only one day was spent at the landslide before the main body of the army were able to cross it, while it took three days more to widen the road enough to let the elephants pass.

§ 2. *qui minimum*. Polybius agrees with this smaller estimate, giving the infantry as 12,000 Africans and 8000 Spaniards, and the cavalry as 'not more than six thousand in all.' And he adds the convincing words, *ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐχούσῃ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ διασαφεί* ('as Hannibal himself declares on the column at Lacinium which bears the inscription about the numbers of his army'), Pol. 3. 56.

§ 3. *L. Cincius Alimentus*. He was praetor of Sicily in B.C. 210. He wrote a Roman history in Greek.

*maxime me auctor moveret*, 'would have the greatest weight with me as an authority.'

§ 4. *cum his*, &c. 'he (Cincius) says that, including these, eighty thousand,' &c.

*magis* goes with '*veri simile*.'

*et ita quidam auctores sunt*. Lit. 'and to this effect (i. e. that the Gauls and Ligurians joined Hannibal in Italy) some (writers) are authorities.'

§ 5. *triginta sex millia hominum*, &c. According to Polybius (3. 60), Hannibal after crossing the Rhone had 38,000 infantry and more than 8000 cavalry. As he arrived in Italy with 20,000 foot and 'not more than 6000 horse,' he lost at the island and in crossing the Alps 18,000 foot and rather more than 2000 horse. This cannot be reconciled with Hannibal's statement to Cincius as given by Livy.

However, when Hannibal left the Pyrenees he had 50,000 foot and 9000 horse (Pol. 3. 35, end), so that between the Pyrenees and Italy he must have lost 30,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, which would be fairly near to the estimate given in this section, especially as '*hominum*' no

doubt includes horsemen. 'Rhodanum' might be a mistake either of Livy or of Cincius. **Chap.  
38.**

*et aliorum iumentorum.* Probably mules.

§ 6. *ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit.* The doubt has not been settled yet. But the best authorities are agreed that Polybius' account points to the pass over the Graian Alps, now known as the Little St. Bernard. Polybius was a friend of the younger Scipio, and an accurate and painstaking historian. He travelled over the Alps himself to gain a more accurate knowledge of the pass, and he learnt the facts from eyewitnesses. Hence his testimony is beyond all suspicion. But unfortunately he does not mention any names of places or tribes between the Allobroges where Hannibal enters, and the Insubres where he leaves the Alps. His reason for reticence is that the Alps were so little known that the names would convey no meaning. However, his description of the pass—though but little can be argued from that, as different mountain valleys have many features in common—will certainly suit the Little St. Bernard, and that pass did actually lie between the territories of the two tribes that Polybius specifies. Further, the measurements that he gives are consistent with this route, though they can be made to suit others.

Livy, misled by knowing that the Taurini were the first Italian Gauls with whom Hannibal came in conflict, makes him descend into their territory over the Cottian Alps (i.e. by Mont Genève), forgetting that Hannibal would wish to bring his tired men into the land of a friendly and not an unfriendly tribe. (Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, Engl. Trans. vol. ii. p. 106, and Capes' Livy [Bks. xxi and xxii], Appendix 'on the Route of Hannibal.')

*et vulgo credere*, lit. 'and that (men) commonly believe.' Notice the change of voice, but translate, 'and that it is commonly believed.' The words show that the 'omnes' mentioned above—in any case an exaggeration—must mean 'all the learned.'

*Poenino*, sc. 'iugo;' the Great St. Bernard.

§ 7. *Caelium.* L. Caelius Antipater, fl. circ. B.C. 120. He wrote in Latin. His history of the war with Hannibal seems to have been one of Livy's chief authorities.

*Cremonis iugum.* It is not known what pass is here meant, but possibly it is the Little St. Bernard itself.

*Salassos.* This tribe lived in the valley of the Doria Baltea, along which Hannibal must have passed if he crossed by the Little St. Bernard.

*Libuos.* A tribe dependent on the Insubres.

§ 9. *Neque hercule montibus iis, &c.* 'Nor indeed, according to the account of its inhabitants, the Seduni and Veragri, was the name (Poenine) given to that range . . ., if any one is influenced by that consideration, but,' &c.

**Chap. 38.** The apodosis to 'si quem,' &c., is the suppressed 'I will state that.'  
*ab eo*, sc. 'deo.'

**Chap. 39.** § 1. *armare*, 'prepare for action' (Capes).  
*in reficiendo*, 'in the process of recovery.'  
*contracta . . . mala*. Cf. 'contrahere morbum' ('to catch a disease'), and 'colligere frigus' ('to catch cold').

§ 2. *otium enim ex labore*, &c. 'For the change from toil to rest, from want to plenty, from neglect and filth to the comforts of civilisation, affected in different ways the worn and wild-looking men.'

§ 3. *in novis ignominiiis*, 'in their new disgrace;' i.e. 'on account of their late disasters,' viz. the defeats described in chap. 25.

§ 6. *incertos*, &c. 'thinking that the Gauls, who were hesitating with which party to side, would side with those who were on the spot.'

§ 7. *sicuti . . . ita*, 'although . . . yet.'

*uterque* is in apposition to 'duces.'

§ 8. *celeberrimum*, 'very well known.'

§ 9. *inter se* here stands for a genitive of a reciprocal, as in 28. 11 it stood for an accusative ('*urgentes inter se*'). In 43. 18 we shall find it standing for a dative reciprocal with one verb and an accusative with another, '*ignotos inter se ignorantesque*.'

The present passage, however, does not mean merely 'they had increased their good opinion of each other,' but 'each had increased the other's good opinion of him.' This is shown by what follows.

§ 10. *Occupavit . . . traicere*. A quasi-imitation of *ἔφθασεν ὑπερβαλὼν*, 'was the first to cross.'

**Chap. 40.** § 1. *supersedissem*, 'I should have refrained from.'  
*apud vos*. These words are not wanted, and make the sentence a comic truism if it be put literally into English.

§ 2. *quid . . . referret?* 'What would be the use of,' &c.

§ 3. *Nunc quia ille exercitus*, &c. See chap. 32. 3-5.

*meis auspiciis*. Gnaeus Scipio was acting as his brother's legatus and had not the 'auspices' himself. 'To have the auspices' must be understood to mean to have the right of consulting the gods. The censors, consuls, and praetors were said to have '*auspicia maiora*,' the quaestors and curule aediles '*auspicia minora*.'

§ 4. *ego*. Notice the asyndeton. The apodosis does not begin here, but at the word '*novo*.'

§ 5. *Ne genus*, &c. This clause depends according to an ellipse, like those pointed out on 38. 9 and 19. 2, of the words 'I will state that.'

*per viginti annos*. Catulus' original treaty, as we have seen, fixed a period of twenty years in which the war indemnity was to be paid after the First Punic War, but this term was reduced to ten years in the treaty ultimately adopted.

§ 7. *duabus partibus*, 'two thirds.' So '*tres partes*' means  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and so on. (In the same way we talk of 'three parts full.') The exaggeration is considerable. According to Polybius' estimate (see note on 38. 5) Hannibal had lost less than half his army in the passage of the Alps.

§ 8. *At enim* (like ἀλλὰ νῦν *Δία*) introduces a supposed objection.

§ 9. *Effigies immo*. 'No, they are ghosts,' &c.

*enecti*, from '*eneco*.'

*praeusti artus*, &c. 'their limbs are frost-bitten, their sinews stiffened by the snows, their bodies parched with cold.'

§ 11. *secundum*, 'next to.'

§ 1. *vestri*. Though used as a genitive of '*vos*' is really the genitive singular neuter of '*vester*,' so that '*vestri adhortandi*' is good grammar. Chap. 41.

§ 3. *huius hostis*, Hannibal.

§ 4. *qua parte*, in apposition to the '*equitibus*' implied in '*equestri proelio*.'

*obvius fui*, 'I have come to oppose.'

§ 5. *quum declinarem certamen*, 'while avoiding a contest.' The words belong only to '*improvidus incidisse*.'

*occurrere in vestigiis* means that Scipio dogged Hannibal's footsteps so as to be ready to face him at any moment. As a matter of fact, he was not even now as near to him as he ought to have been.

The alternative introduced by '*an*' is, of course, the one that Scipio wishes his soldiers to believe.

*laccessere*, 'to provoke.'

§ 6. *Experiri iuvat*. 'I am glad to make the experiment.'

*quos ab Eryce*, &c. The reference is to the soldiers of Hamilcar, who had so long resisted the Romans in Sicily, and were at length forced to capitulate through no fault of their own or of their general, but solely on account of the defeat of the Carthaginian fleet at the Aegates Insulae.

*duodevicens denariis* is about twelve shillings. The smallness of the ransom does not show, as Scipio pretends, that the Carthaginian prisoners were not worth a large one, but that the Romans were not in a position to exact it.

§ 7. *vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus*. A great exaggeration. Carthage had never paid a '*vectigal*.' '*Vectigalia*' were of the nature of tithes, and paid by conquered countries. Nor was Hannibal left even a '*stipendiarius*' by his father. Hamilcar died in B.C. 229. Before that time the ten yearly instalments of the war indemnity fixed in B.C. 241 would have been paid off, so that no Carthaginian was '*stipendiarius populi Romani*' at the time of Hamilcar's death. '*Servus*' is, of course, the merest rhetoric.

§ 8. *Saguntinum scelus agitare*. Hannibal's attack on Sagun-

**Chap.** tum is feigned to be a crime, the guilt of which becomes a power to  
**41.** drive him blindfold on his ruin.

§ 9. *fremens*, 'chafing.'

§ 11. *Licuit . . . fame interficere*. Possibly. But the Romans, anxious to seize the opportunity of making peace, could have had no object in thus prolonging the war. The rest of this section, as well as the next, is empty boasting.

§ 12. *tutelae*. Genitive. 'We recognised them as under our protection.' There is some slight basis of truth for this statement, but the 'protection' ended in the annexation of Sardinia. See Introduction.

§ 13. *Pro his impertitis*. 'In return for these favours.'

§ 16. *agitet*, lit. 'turn over,' i.e. 'reflect upon.'

**Chap.** § 1. *ecquis*, &c. 'if any of them would fight on the condition that  
**42.** (if victorious) he should be freed from his bonds,' &c.

To us this exhibition of single combats seems a cruel one, especially when we read in Polybius that the prisoners had beforehand been purposely kept in a miserable condition. But it is clearly not regarded as cruel by Livy, who would not have failed to point out any instance of cruelty in Hannibal, and in this respect we must not judge a Phoenician of the third century B.C. by a standard at all higher than that of Augustan Rome.

§ 2. *et deiecta in id sors esset*, 'and lots had been thrown for that purpose,' i.e. to determine which of the prisoners were to be allowed to fight. 'Thrown down' means thrown into a helmet. Each captive would select and mark a pebble, the pebbles would then be shaken in a helmet, and the owners of the first two that jumped out would have to fight together.

In such cases a coward could sometimes make himself safe by treacherously putting in a lump of earth instead of a pebble.

Some readers will remember the lines—

*οὐ δραπέτην τὸν κλῆρον ἐς μέσον καθεῖς  
 ὑγρὰς ἀρούρας βῶλον, ἀλλ' ὅς ἐυλόφου  
 κυνῆς ἐμελλε πρῶτος ἄλμα κουφιεῖν.*

(Soph. Ajax 1285).

'For in the midst no shirking lot he flung,  
 No clod of crumbling glebe, but one that should  
 Leap lightly first out of the well-plumed helm.'

(Mr. Whitelaw.)

After one of these duels had been decided the lots would be shaken again. According to Polybius, however, only one pair of combatants was selected to fight.

*se quisque eum optabat*, &c. 'each longed to be the man whom fortune should choose,' &c., i.e. they felt this wish before the

lots were shaken. The behaviour of the captives after the lots were shaken is described in the next section. **Chap. 42.**

§ 4. *eiusdem . . . condicionis homines* means the other captives.  
*bene*, 'bravely.'

§ 1. *paribus*, 'pairs.'

§ 2. *habueritis*, fut. pf.

*quaedam*. 'Quidam' is often used to apologise for a metaphor or simile.

§ 3. *nescio an* means 'I am inclined to think that.'

*maiora vincula maioresque*, &c. 'heavier chains and a more desperate position.'

§ 4. *habentes* is accusative agreeing with the object of 'claudunt' ('vos' understood).

§ 5. *optare*, 'to pray for;' cf. 'Desire of me.'

§ 7. *agite dum*, lit. 'come now,' or rather 'bestir yourselves now.'

§ 8. *Satis adhuc*. 'Long enough.'

*consectando nullum emolumentum . . . vidistis*. 'You have hunted . . . without seeing any reward,' &c.

§ 10. *emeritis stipendiis*, lit. 'when your pay has been won,' i.e. 'at the end of the campaign.'

§ 11. *Nec, quam magni*, &c. 'And do not think that victory will be as difficult to attain as the words "War with Rome" would suggest.'

*existimaritis*. 'Existimate,' in a prohibition would not be prose Latin.

§ 13. *Ut . . . taceam*. 'Supposing that I am silent about,' i.e. 'Not to mention.'

*viginti annorum militiam vestram*. Those of Hannibal's army who had served under Hamilcar from the beginning of his career in Spain would have served nineteen years at the time of the fall of Saguntum. To these veterans the general is now addressing himself.

*Herculis columnis*. Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abila on the opposite African coast.

§ 14. *ignoto* and *ignoranti* are ablatives agreeing with 'exercitu,' and governing 'duci' and 'ducem' respectively; cf. § 18 'ignotos inter se ignorantesque.'

§ 15. *semestri*. The consuls began their term of office in March, and it was now October.

*desertore exercitus sui*. Scipio had left his old army with his brother Cneius to carry on the war against Hasdrubal in Spain; 32. 3-5.

§ 17. *facinus*, 'exploit.'

*notata temporibus locisque* means 'giving the date of each exploit and the place where it was performed.'

*decora*, 'brave deeds.'

**Chap. 43.** § 18. *inter se* here stands for a dative after 'ignotos,' and an accusative after 'ignorantes;' see note on 39. 9. The addition of 'ignorantesque' adds nothing to the sense. It is enough to say that A and B are unknown to each other, we need not add that they do not know each other.

**Chap. 44.** § 1. *infrenatos*. Not the participle of 'infreno,' which would mean the same as 'frenatos,' but an adjective meaning the opposite.

'Infrenos' would be the ordinary word, as in Verg. Aen. 4. 41, where it is used, as 'infrenati' here, of the Numidians:—

'Et Numidae infreni cingunt.'

§ 3. *inferentis vim quam arcentis*, 'in those who attack than in those who defend.'

§ 4. *Accendit praeterea*, &c. 'Besides, to make our courage more ardent and more keen, we have been wronged, we have been ill-treated, we have been insulted.'

*deinde vos omnes*. This was not the case; but cf. 30. 3 'quicunque Saguntum obsedisent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus.' Livy is a thorough rhetorician and intentionally makes his speakers exaggerate.

§ 5. *cum quibus*, &c. 'and thinks fit to regulate for us our relations of peace and war.'

*quos non excedamus*, 'beyond which we must not go.'

*neque*, 'and yet . . . not.'

§ 6. *Ne transieris* and *Nusquam . . . moveris* are supposed commands of Rome. *At non ad Hiberum* and '*Parum est*,' in § 7, are Hannibal's rejoinders.

§ 7. *in Africam transcendes*. Here Hannibal ends his apostrophe to Rome. With the words '*transcendisse dico*' he resumes his direct speech to his soldiers. The words '*Transcendes autem*' mark the transition, and, though grammatically still part of the 'apostrophe,' correspond to the English "'will cross over?" do I say?'

*nisi quod armis vindicavimus*, 'except what we hold (lit. shall have held) by force of arms.'

§ 8. *respectum*, 'means of escape.'

*certa desperatione* means a conviction that there is nothing left to choose except one of the alternatives mentioned.

*si fortuna dubitabit*. An euphemistic expression, 'if we cannot make sure of success.'

§ 9. *destinatum*. If this word be retained, it is best to insert '*si*' before it with Weissenborn, putting a comma after '*omnibus*.' '*Destinatum*' then becomes an emphatic repetition of '*fixum*.'

**Chap. 45.** § 1. *ponte . . . iungunt*, 'bridged.' The banks are the things joined: Scipio had marched up the Po, after crossing it—at Placentia, Mommsen



thinks—as far as the mouth of the Ticinus. That river he now prepares to cross from the left to the right bank. **Chap. 45.**

§ 5. *pecuniam quam agrum*. There is no ellipse of 'potius' or 'magis' here, for 'magis' is contained in 'maluisset.'

§ 6. *potestatem facturum*. Supply 'se iis.'

*qui domos redire*, &c. 'and he would take care that those who preferred to return to their homes should have no cause to wish that their lot had been changed for that of any of their countrymen' (lit. 'that the lot of any of their countrymen had been changed with them').

§ 8. *silicem*, a flint-knife. These were retained for sacrifice when metal knives had long superseded them for ordinary purposes.

*si falleret*, 'if he should break his oath.' In translating, these words come after 'ita se mactarent.'

*ita se mactarent*. Supply 'ut,' the ellipse of which after 'precor' is a common one.

*secundum*, 'immediately after.'

§ 9. *quisque* is really without construction. But 'suusquisque' is here regarded as one word in which the 'quisque' is a mere suffix.

*id morae, quod . . . rati*, 'thinking that the fact that they were not already fighting was a hindrance to their realising their hopes;' cf. 'id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis,' 5. 12.

In the sentence before us 'morae' is genitive, and 'id morae rati' means 'classing the fact (of not having yet begun to fight) under the category of delay.'

*uno animo et voce una*. Chiasmus.

§ 1. *territos*, 'since they were frightened.'

§ 3. *Quibus procuratis*. 'Having duly averted these omens.' 'Procurare' (generally governing an accusative of the portent itself) means to go through the rites necessary to avert the misfortunes which the portents were sent to foreshadow. Scipio would consult his augur on the point, and the latter would tell him what was the proper course of expiation to adopt. **Chap. 46.**

§ 4. *densior*, 'more and more densely;' Church and Brodribb.

§ 5. *in subsidiis*, 'as a reserve,' and therefore in rear.

*frenatos*. Here contrasted with the Numidians, as in 44. 1.

§ 6. *fugerunt inter subsidia*, &c. 'took refuge among the reserves in the second line' (N.B. not 'second rank.' Each line would be several ranks deep.)

*premi circumventos*, 'surrounded and hard pressed.'

*ad pedes pugna venerat*. The obvious meaning of this is the right one.

§ 7. *paulum* is to be taken with 'circumvecti.'

*tum primum pubescentis*, 'who was then hardly out of his boyhood.' It is meant that he was sixteen years old.

**Chap.** § 8. *penes quem*, &c. 'to whom belongs the glory of having  
**46.** finished this war.'

§ 9. *alius . . . equitatus*, 'the rest of the cavalry.' That some—Polybius says most—of the cavalry had fled is implied by the words '*iaculatorum maxime*.'

§ 10. *malim equidem*, &c. 'for my part I would rather accept the story ascribing it to the son, which most of our authorities have given us and which tradition has preserved.'

**Chap.** § 2. *vasa*, 'their baggage.'

**47.** § 3. *Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam*, &c. If this is not mere hyperbole, Scipio crossed the Trebia twice, once before reaching Placentia, and once as related in § 6 of the next chapter. It is, as Capes and Mommsen point out, impossible that Scipio should have placed himself on the left (west) bank of the Trebia and allowed Hannibal to occupy the right (see note on 56. 3). This is just what he wished to prevent Hannibal from doing. The probability is that the Roman camp was on the right and the Carthaginian camp on the left bank, and that the battle of Trebia was fought on the Carthaginian side.

*satis sciret*, 'knew for certain.' After the virtual negative '*prius . . . quam*,' '*satis*' has its strong force of 'satisfactorily.' Its strong force with negatives has already been noticed.

*ad*, 'about.'

*in citeriore ripa Padi*. According to Polybius the event recorded in this section happened on the Ticinus, which Scipio had to recross in his retreat to reach his floating bridge over the Po. Livy takes the recrossing of the Ticinus for granted. *Citeriore ripa* is from Hannibal's point of view.

§ 4. *Magonem*. Hannibal's youngest brother.

*in ordinem* practically means 'in line,' but Livy is thinking of the animals being forced *into* a certain formation.

§ 5. *Ea peritis amnis*, &c. 'This story is hardly likely to obtain belief from those who know that river.' Livy probably knew it well himself. Polybius states that Hannibal crossed by a bridge.

*ut iam Hispanos omnes*, &c. 'even supposing that all the Spaniards had already passed across on inflated skins' (lit. 'that inflated skins had already carried across all the Spaniards').

*et multorum dierum*, &c. 'and a circuitous march of several days would have had to be made in order to reach,' &c.

*qua*. This adverbial relative is often used instead of an adjectival one agreeing with a definite antecedent.

§ 6. *Hispanorum expeditos*. These were infantry, as we learn from their being contrasted with '*gravius peditum agmen*' in the next section.

§ 2. *et . . . accensos*. 'Et' here irregularly couples the (grammatically) unlike words '*allocutus*' and '*accensos*.' Translate, 'and having inflamed,' &c. Livy is led to this breach of grammar by the fact of '*alloquor*' being deponent and therefore having no passive. **Chap. 48.**

§ 3. *contactosque eo scelere*, 'and that those who caught the infection of the crime would,' &c. For the sentiment in this sentence, cf. 41. 8 '*Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare*.'

§ 4. *ad Trebiam fluvium*, 'by the river Trebia.'

§ 5. *fefellit*; *ἔλαθεν*. Thus '*minus fefellit*' means 'he did not so well succeed in escaping observation.'

*utique* is to be taken with '*novissimum agmen*.' 'At any rate the rear.'

§ 6. *emissus hostis est de manibus*, 'they let the enemy escape from their grasp.'

*citra*. On Hannibal's side.

§ 7. *nec . . . et*. Cf. 19. 3.

*collegam*. Sempronius.

*iam enim et revocatum*, &c. 'for he had heard that he had now been positively recalled from Sicily.'

§ 8. *quae . . . maior in dies*, &c. Lit. 'which encountered him with greater force day by day,' i.e. 'which he found to press more severely on him day by day.'

§ 9. *mittit*, here used absolutely.

*pararent*, sc. Hannibal's soldiers.

*horreum*, 'a magazine.'

§ 10. *nihil saevitum est*, 'no cruelty was practised.' The reason given for this is in accordance with Livy's preconceived idea of Hannibal's character.

§ 1. *constitisset*, 'had come to a standstill.'

*imminentes*, 'close to.'

§ 2. *Liparas . . . tenuerunt*, sc. '*cursum*,' 'steered to the Liparae.' Observe that no preposition is used. Weissenborn says that Livy especially means the largest island or its capital. Indeed the contrast between '*Liparas*' and '*insulam Vulcani*' would otherwise be meaningless, the latter being itself one of the Liparae. **Chap. 49.**

*ad insulam Vulcani*. It was also called '*Thermissa*.' The preposition is used because '*insulam*' is not regarded as a proper name.

*fretum*. The Straits of Messina.

*avertit aestus*. There is not enough tide for this in the Mediterranean, and so the word '*aestus*' must mean, as Church and Brodribb translate it, 'a heavy sea.' This is made certain by '*eadem tempestate*' in § 5.

§ 3. *nullo repugnante*, 'without resistance.'

- Chap. 49.** § 4. *veteres socios*, i. e. 'their old allies.'
- § 5. *Lilybaei occupandi*, &c. 'their main object was to seize Lilybaeum.'
- § 6. *M. Aemilio praetori*. Capes points out that Aemilius must have been appointed to Sicily in event of the consul, Sempronius, whose province it really was, having to leave for Africa. See chap. 17, where it is said that Sempronius was to cross to Africa, provided that Scipio was equal to the task of 'keeping the Carthaginians out of Italy.' Scipio had not shown himself equal to that task.
- § 7. *legati*, lieutenant-generals serving under consul, praetor, pro-consul, &c.
- tribuni*. There were six of these officers to every legion.
- suos ad curam custodiae intendere*, 'awoke the Roman allies to the importance of keeping themselves on their guard' (i. e. against surprise). 'Intendere' *might* be the third person plural of the perfect indicative, but is shown to be the historic infinitive by being coupled with 'teneri.'
- § 8. *socii navales* means the sailors and marines, who were chiefly drawn from the allies.
- ut . . . ne quid*. 'So that nothing.' The redundant use of 'ut' with 'ne' is rare in Livy.
- perque omnem oram*. The 'que' couples the ablative absolute 'missis' to the ablative absolute 'edicto proposito.'
- § 9. *moderati erant*, 'had regulated.'
- sublatis armamentis*, 'with their sails set;' lit. 'with their tackle hoisted.' The yard and sail were hauled up together. The converse of this is 'demendis armamentis' in § 11.
- § 13. *circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum*, i. e. the battle at the Aegates Insulae, which are near to Lilybaeum.
- Chap. 50.** § 2. *naviumque quam virorum*, &c. This was better seamanship. In fact, as Thucydides would say, the Romans were trying to have a land battle at sea.
- § 3. *sociis navalibus* here means merely 'sailors,' as opposed to marines. That the words are used of the Carthaginian navy shows how far they had lost their original meaning.
- conserta*, i. e. was fastened to a Roman ship by the grappling irons.
- par*, i. e. to that on board its enemy.
- § 6. *una tantum perforata*, &c. 'one ship only having been rammed, and that managing to get back with the rest.'
- § 7. *nondum gnaris*. Supply 'iis' from the 'qui' in the relative clause.
- ornatamque*. Simply 'and equipped.'
- § 8. *praetoriam*. Not 'the praetor's,' but 'the general's' (or rather 'the admiral's'), i. e. Sempronius' ship.

§ 10. *et quibusdam volentibus*, &c. 'and some people would be very glad of a revolution.' Weissenborn compares the Greek construction *βουλομένη μοί ἐστιν*, but Capes thinks it more probable that the construction is ablative absolute. In Tacitus one would have less scruple in pronouncing the words to be an imitation of the Greek idiom.

**Chap.  
50.**

§ 1. *Melitam*, Malta.

§ 2. *traditur*. It is meant that the Carthaginian surrendered himself and his garrison, &c., not that he was betrayed.

**Chap.  
51.**

*sub corona venierunt*, 'were sold by auction.' Festus says, '*sub corona venire dicuntur, quia captivi coronati solent venire.*'

§ 3. *insulas Vulcani*. The Liparae in general were so called.

§ 4. *Viboniensi agro*. The land round Vibo Valentia, the '*urbs*' mentioned immediately afterwards. It lay on the West Bruttian coast.

§ 5. *de . . . et ut*, &c. 'telling of . . . and ordering him to,' &c.

§ 6. *mari supero*. The Adriatic.

*longis navibus*, 'ships of war.'

§ 7. *M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta*. This means that he made up Aemilius' fleet to the number of fifty vessels.

§ 1. *Iam ambo consules*, &c. Translate, 'The fact of both consuls and all the forces of Rome being pitted against Hannibal, made it clear that if Rome could not be protected by those troops, no hope for her was left.' All that Livy means is to deny the possibility of any hope being left, if the combined consular armies were found unequal to resisting Hannibal. But if we translate the sentence word for word into English, we put into Livy's mouth the absurdity of declaring that the fact of all Rome's strength being opposed to Hannibal could prove that her strength was superior to his. The co-ordinate form of sentence would imply this in English, though it need not do so in Latin. However, '*spem nullam aliam esse*' is a great exaggeration.

**Chap.  
52.**

*oppositum*. This word, as well as '*declarabat*,' agrees with the antecedent (understood) to '*quicquid*.'

§ 2. *minutus*. The MSS. have '*et minutus*,' which is clearly corrupt. '*Minutus*' is not very satisfactory. It has been rendered '*dispirited*' or '*disheartened*,' which is by no means a natural sense for the word to bear. Madvig suggests '*admonitus*.'

*recentis animi alter*, &c. 'the other whose ardour had suffered no check, and who therefore felt more warlike.'

§ 3. *per ambiguum favorem*, &c. 'showing by their hesitation in declaring their sympathies that their aim was to stand well with the conquerors.'

§ 5. *deinceps . . . usque ad*, 'right up to.'

§ 6. *ad id*, 'up to that time.'

**Chap.  
52.**

coacti is to be taken with 'declinant,' 'were forced to turn.'  
 ab, 'from,' not 'by.' The word depends on 'declinant.'  
 ad vindices futuros, 'to those who would be their protectors.'  
 terrae ob nimiam, &c. 'for a land that was suffering because its  
 occupiers had been only too true to Rome.'

§ 7. ut alia vetustate obsolevisent, 'even supposing that all their  
 other misdeeds had been buried in the past.'

§ 8. Sempronius contra, &c. 'on the other hand, Sempronius  
 thought that to defend the first who wanted help would be the surest  
 way to keep the allies in their allegiance.'

primos . . . defensos. For the construction, cf. 'oppositum' in  
 § 1 and Horace Od. 2. 4. 10-12:—

'et ademptus Hector  
 Tradidit fessis leviora tolli  
 Pergama Graiis.'

§ 9. mille peditum, &c. 'together with about a thousand javelin-  
 men from the infantry.'

§ 10. Sparsos et incompósitos. These accusatives refer to the  
 enemy. Translate, 'Having suddenly attacked the enemy while they  
 were scattered and in no formation, and besides in most cases loaded  
 with plunder.'

§ 11. ad extremum, 'at last.'

penes Romanos. Cf. 46. 8 'penes quem perfecti huiusce belli  
 laus est.'

**Chap.  
53.**

§ 1. iustiorque, 'and more complete.' Livy is laughing at Sempro-  
 nius.

qua parte, &c. 'that he had been victorious, with precisely the  
 arm, with which the other consul had been defeated.' 'Gaudio efferri,'  
 like 'gaudere,' is constructed with the accusative and infinitive.

§ 3. Quid, 'why?'

differri aut teri. Notice the infinitive in the questions which in  
 the orat. rect. would have the third person of the indicative.

§ 4. Siciliam ac Sardiniam, victis ademptas. Sempronius means  
 that as these islands had once belonged (Sardinia wholly and Sicily  
 partly) to Carthage, to see Carthaginians in either of them would not  
 be so very terrible.

§ 5. Poenum . . . fecisse, 'while they see that the Carthaginian has  
 made,' &c.

§ 6. agere, 'he would repeat.'

ne, 'which made him fear that.'

in novos consules, 'to another year.' But in so translating we  
 sacrifice the suggestion of new consuls which is prominent in the Latin  
 words. 'To the next official year' will perhaps better represent the

meaning. However, the distinction is of small importance, for no military operations could be conducted between the first of January and the fifteenth of March (see 63. 1), when the new consuls took office. The fear of leaving the glory 'confecti belli' to a successor often damaged the military operations of Roman generals.

*occasio* is coupled to 'tempus propinquum.'

§ 7. *quid optimum foret hosti*, viz. to remain in their camp. 'Foret' is subj. because of the dependent question, and means 'was,' not 'would be.'

§ 8. *quum*, 'but when.'

*adesse gerendae rei*, &c. 'he began to have hopes that an opportunity for striking a blow was at hand.'

§ 9. *Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus* depends on 'sollicitus intentusque erat.'

*dum*, (throughout the section) 'while . . . still;' *inutilem . . . faceret*, 'disabled.'

§ 11. *et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet*, 'and he was eager to force it' (i.e. an engagement) 'if there was any hesitation.' (Church and Brodribb.)

*ad ea exploranda* depends on 'tutiores.'

*quia in utrisque castris militabant*, 'since there were Gauls serving in,' &c.

*Poenus* here means Hannibal.

§ 1. *perlustravit* cannot mean 'saw to be,' though the sentence implies that Hannibal observed that the place would be suitable for a cavalry ambush. But all that Livy says is, 'and when he had in person ridden round and examined the place which had enough cover to hide even cavalry.'

§ 2. *centenos viros*. This means a hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry.

*corpora curare*. The last five words of Hannibal's speech are addressed to his staff generally.

§ 3. *Ita praetorium missum*. 'With these words he dismissed his council of war' (or 'staff').

*singulis vobis novenos*, &c. 'let each of you choose as his comrades nine men of the same sort as yourselves from your troops and companies' (i.e. from the cavalry and the infantry). 'Turmae' and 'manipuli' were, of course, divisions of the Roman and not of the Carthaginian army.

*quem insideatis*, 'which you are to occupy.'

§ 4. *iniecto deinde certamine*. The Numidians are spoken of as if they were going to stir up a quarrel between the two armies. Translate, 'having started the battle.'

**Chap. 54.** § 5. *instratusque equis*, 'and with their horses saddled.' For '*instratus*' cf. 27. 9.

§ 6. *ferox*, 'confident.'

a, 'in consequence of.'

§ 7. *etiam*, 'moreover.'

§ 8. *Ad hoc*. 'Besides.'

*raptim*, 'hurriedly.'

*non ope ulla*, &c. 'without anything having been done to keep out the cold.'

*quicquid* is adverbial, or more properly speaking a cognate accusative after '*appropinquabant*.' 'And the nearer they approached to the wind off the river, the colder were the blasts to which they were exposed.' If instead of '*quicquid appropinquabant*' Livy had written '*quo magis appropinquabant*' the sentence would be straightforward enough.

§ 9. *utique egressis*, 'especially when they had come out of the water.' On a windy day the air feels colder than the water to the wet body.

*deficere*, historic infinitive.

**Chap. 55.** § 1. *per manipulos . . . misso*, 'having been served out to the companies.'

*per otium*, 'at leisure.'

§ 2. *quod*, i. e. '*id quod*,' 'his heavier infantry, which was the flower and strength of his army.'

*in utramque partem divisos* means simply that there were two divisions of elephants, one for each flank.

§ 3. *circumdedit peditibus*, 'placed on the flanks of his infantry,' '*peditibus*,' being dative. As far as the words go, it might be ablative, in which case the sense would be 'surrounded with his infantry,' but that the cavalry were placed on the flanks is shown by §§ 5, 6.

§ 4. *socium nominis Latini*, 'of Latin allies.' The name 'Latins' was at this time given to all the allies of Rome who had not obtained the full '*civitas*,' but had been admitted to the rights which had been formerly granted to the towns of Latium.

*in fide*, 'loyal.'

§ 5. *urgeretur*, 'was hard pressed.'

§ 6. *per se* must grammatically refer to '*quattuor millia*,' and it can be so translated with apparently good sense owing to a confusion of thought as usual in English as in Latin. Logically it ought to refer to '*decem millibus*,' as it was these who were eventually reinforced.

§ 10. *maxime praeter spem omnium*, &c. 'showing, to the surprise of all, their greatest steadiness in repelling the elephants.' Another way of translating the passage is to take '*maxime*' with '*praeter spem*.'

§ 11. *avertēre* is the 3rd plur. pf. ind. act., and must not be read as the historic infinitive (*avertēre*).



§ 1. *Trepidantesque*, &c. 'They were thrown into confusion and were on the point of rushing in their terror upon the Carthaginian, when Hannibal ordered them to be marched,' &c. **Chap. 56.**

The elephants were more of a trouble to Hannibal than a help. They had been a difficulty at the Rhone, and again at the landslip, they were dangerous in the battle, and they nearly all (Polybius says 'all but one,' but see § 6) died after it.

*eoque*, 'and thus.'

§ 2. *in orbem*. The accusative is used as if Livy had written '*glomerati essent*' instead of '*pugnarent*.' The formation corresponds to the 'square' of modern days.

§ 3. *Placentiam*. As Mommsen and Capes point out, if the battle was fought on the Western side of the Trebia, the retreating force must have crossed that river to reach Placentia. Livy here implies that they had not to cross the river to get to Placentia, but that they would have had to cross it to reach their camp, i. e. that the Roman camp was on the side of the Trebia remote from Placentia, viz. the Western side. If so, the Carthaginian camp must have been on the Eastern side, and the battle will have been fought on the Eastern side (see note on 47. 3). This supposition is not only extremely unlikely in itself, but it is at variance with the account of Polybius, though the latter historian does not mention the fact that the retreating 'ten thousand' crossed the Trebia.

§ 4. *Plures . . . eruptiones factae*, by those not included in the 'decem millia.'

*oppressi*, 'cut down.'

§ 7. *torpentes*, 'benumbed.'

§ 8. *quum praesidium castrorum*, &c. This, as Capes observes, seems to prove conclusively that Livy thought the Roman camp to have been to the West of the Trebia.

*sauciorum ex magna parte* is parenthetical. 'And all the soldiers—chiefly wounded men—that were left there.'

§ 9. *Pado traiectus*. Weissenborn compares '*freto in Italiam traiecit*,' 22. 31. 7.

§ 1. *infestis signis*. 'The enemy would come to Rome with hostile standards,' means, 'The enemy would come to attack Rome.' **Chap. 57.**

§ 2. *duobus consulibus*, &c. '*but* when two consuls,' &c.

§ 3. *fallendi*, 'of passing unperceived.'

§ 4. *comitiis consularibus habitis*. Livy, as we have seen (15. 6), lays stress on this occurrence to prove that the battle of Trebia must have taken place in Sempronius' year of office. The consular elections were held in December, but the new consuls did not enter upon their office until the following March. Hence Sempronius was still consul for more than two months after holding the elections.

**Chap. 57.** § 5. *ut quaeque iis impeditiora erant*, 'wherever the ground was too difficult for them' (the Numidians).

*clausi*, 'cut off.'

§ 6. *Emporium* means 'a trading centre,' 'factory.' Possibly it is a proper name here, 'Emporium.'

*firmitum*, 'made secure,' i.e. 'held.'

*Eius castelli*, &c. 'In the hopes of taking this fortress Hannibal started with his cavalry and light troops. It was by concealing his attack that he thought himself most likely to capture the place, and he accordingly made an assault by night, but could not contrive to surprise the guard.'

§ 7. *consul*. This cannot have been Sempronius, for from 59. 2 we infer that he had not returned from Rome when Hannibal tried to take this stronghold. Scipio then must have moved from Cremona to Placentia in the absence of his colleague.

*quadrato agmine*, as in 5. 16, 'in order of battle,' not 'in square,' for which formation—or rather the corresponding one in their tactics—we have seen that the Romans used '*orbis*' (56. 2).

§ 8. *quia . . . Hannibal pugna excessit* explains '*pavore hostibus iniecto*.'

*praesidium*, 'the fortress.'

§ 9. *satis*, 'thoroughly.'

§ 10. *mixti*, &c. 'who were a mixture of men from all the neighbouring tribes.'

§ 11. *praesidii*, in the same sense as '*praesidium*' in § 8.

§ 12. *Magis agmina quam acies*, 'In anything but battle order.'

*inconditam turbam*, 'an undisciplined mob.'

§ 13. *praesidium here* means 'a garrison' (Carthaginian), the nominative to '*accepere*' being the occupants of *Victumviae* understood.

*iussique*. The sentence will begin in English with 'and when,' or 'but when.'

§ 14. *clades*, 'outrage' or 'atrocities.'

*adeo omnis*, &c., lit. 'so true is it that (*adeo*) upon these unhappy people an instance was given of every kind of licentiousness, cruelty, and brutal oppression.' A condensed sentence which must be expanded to make English, though its meaning is clear.

If Livy's account is correct, these outrages are unpardonable. Polybius does not mention these '*hibernae expeditiones*.'

**Chap. 58.** § 1. *longi . . . temporis* depends on '*quies*.'

*inde* is temporal here.

§ 2. *adiuncturus*, 'intending to secure the help of.'

§ 3. *foeditatem*, 'the horrors.'

*contra*, adverb, 'against the wind.'

vertice intorti affligebantur, 'they were hurled violently to the ground by the hurricane.' **Chap. 58.**

§ 4. *spiritum includeret*. The wind in their teeth prevented them from breathing out the air in their lungs. Most people have experienced this in a high wind.

*reciprocare animam*, 'to fetch their breath.'

*aversi a vento*, 'they turned their backs to the wind and,' &c.

§ 5. *capti auribus et oculis*, cf. 'altero oculo capitur,' 22. 2. 11.

§ 6. *tandem effuso imbre*, 'at last when the shower had spent itself,' *accensa*, 'increased.'

§ 7. *nec explicare*, &c. This means that they could neither unroll (*explicare*) the canvas (or rather 'skins') nor fix (*statuere*) the tent-poles.

*nec, quod statutum esset, manebat*. This is not quite logical after what has gone before, but the sense is clear. For 'esset,' see *Excursus*.

§ 8. *Et mox aqua levata vento*, &c. is Livy's explanation of the phenomenon of hail, his idea being that the moisture which the wind carried with it was frozen into hail as it passed over the cold ridge of the Apennines.

*tegminibus suis*, &c. This must mean that they abandoned all idea of putting up their tents, and crept under the coverings.

§ 10. *movere ac recipere*. Supply 'coeperunt' from 'est coeptus.' *raris locis*, 'here and there.'

*ad alienam opem*, &c. 'every one who could not help himself sought help from others.' 'Tendere,' of course, from its form must be the (historic) infinitive.

§ 11. *septem absumpti*. According to this at least eight must have survived the effects of Trebia.

§ 1. *ad decem millia*, 'about ten miles.'

§ 6. *recessum* may either be for 'recessum esse,' or may be the accusative of 'recessus,' 'a retreat.'

§ 7. *Pugna raro magis ulla \* \* aut*. The MS. reading is 'pugna raro magis ulla aut utriusque.' Madvig leaves a gap in his text, but suggests 'Pugna raro magis ulla saeva, et aut alterius, aut utriusque partis,' &c., which would mean, 'Seldom has there been fought a fiercer battle than this, and it would have been rendered still more famous by heavy losses to one or both armies if,' &c.

§ 8. *accensum*, 'kindled,' i. e. 'begun,' *not* 'increased,' like 'accensa' in the last chapter.

*et dimidium eius* means half six-hundred. Notice the change of construction from 'peditibus' to 'dimidium,' both constructions being permissible with 'plus' and 'minus' (Madvig's Lat. Gram. § 305).

§ 9. *sed maior Romanis*, &c. 'but Rome suffered a loss out of all proportion to the numbers slain.'

**Chap. 59.** *equestris ordinis*. This means men, other than senators, who possessed a fortune of at least 400,000 sesterces, and were for that reason liable to be called on to serve in the cavalry. The term '*equester ordo*' in this sense properly belongs only to the time after Caius Gracchus, who first gave political existence to this 'order' by enacting that the jurors should be chosen from men who were not of Senatorial rank, but possessed the property qualification mentioned above. Livy's commenting on the fact of several of the slain being '*equestris ordinis*' shows that even at the time of this battle the cavalry was by no means even chiefly composed of those on whom the burden of cavalry service legally fell.

*praefecti sociorum*. These corresponded to the tribunes of the Roman troops.

§ 10. *Secundum*, 'Immediately after.'

*per insidias*, 'by treachery.'

**Chap. 60.** § 1. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam . . . missus*. As related in 32. 3.

§ 2. *Emporiis*, 'at Emporiae.'

§ 4. *Inde conciliata clementiae fama*. 'The reputation for clemency which he there won.'

*apud*, 'with.'

*auxiliorum cohortes*, 'auxiliary cohorts.'

§ 5. *cis*. Here from the natural (i. e. the Roman) point of view.

*priusquam alienarentur*, &c. 'thinking that he ought to offer resistance to the enemy before the whole country was lost.'

*eduxit*, sc. '*exercitum*.'

§ 8. *parvi pretii rerum fuit*, 'consisted of things of little value.'

*supellex barbarica* is in apposition to '*praeda*,' *vilium mancipiorum* to '*rerum*.'

§ 9. *caris* here, like our word 'dear,' means 'costly.'

*ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent*. *Not* 'in order that they (the valuables) might not be heavy incumbrances for them,' but 'in order that the baggage might not be too heavy for them.' '*Ferentibus*' need not be translated.

*citra*. On the Spanish side.

**Chap. 61.** § 1. *tanquam ad primum adventum*, &c. 'thinking to meet the Romans directly that they had landed.' The use of '*tanquam*' here is something like that of *ὡς* with the future participle in Greek.

*ad Cissim*, 'at Cissis.'

*accepit*, 'received tidings of.'

§ 2. *classicos milites navalesque socios*, 'marines and sailors.'

*ut secundae res ne negligentiam creent*. This clause, not very

logically inserted to explain 'quod ferme fit,' spoils the grammar of the sentence. By translating 'quod ferme fit, ut,' &c., by 'success, as it generally does, having made them careless,' we can get an intelligible rendering of the passage.

§ 4. **animadvertisset.** 'Animadvertere in' means 'to punish,' and often, as here, 'to punish with death.'

§ 6. **compulsis omnibus,** &c. 'shut them all up in (lit. 'drove them all to') Atanagrum and laid siege to that city, which,' &c.

§ 9. **exuti . . . armis.** This means that they threw away their arms so as to be able to run the faster.

§ 10. **obsidio.** There are two words for 'siege' or 'blockade' in Latin, 'obsidio' and 'obsidium.' 'Obsidio' here is, of course, the nominative of the former.

**minus quattuor pedes,** 'less than four feet.' Cf. 'plus . . . dimidium' (59. 8).

**pluteos.** These differed from the 'vineae' in being smaller and being semicircular in shape. The meaning of this sentence and what follows is, that, the sheds and mantlets being buried in the snow, the snow itself was the only thing to protect the Romans against the fire thrown by the enemy.

**etiam** here means 'actually,' but it must be omitted in translating the sentence, or its force must be given by a periphrasis.

§ 11. **viginti argenti,** &c. 'after stipulating to pay twenty talents of silver.'

**deduntur** is middle, 'they surrendered.'

§ 1. **motis semel in religionem,** 'when men's thoughts have once turned to the supernatural.' **Chap. 62.**

**temere,** 'too readily.'

§ 2. **in quis,** sc. 'nuntiatum est et temere creditum est.' On some such clause understood all the infinitives from 'clamasse' down to 'abstulisse' in § 5 depend.

§ 5. **hominum specie,** &c. 'apparitions had been seen in the distance of human form and clad in white robes.'

**sortes extenuatas,** 'the oracular tablets had shrunk.' These tablets were slips of wood on which were carved 'ancient letters.' They were consulted by means of drawing some of them like lots and interpreting the inscriptions on those drawn. One such inscription is mentioned in 22. 1. 11.

§ 6. **libros.** The Sibylline books. These were in the charge of the 'decemviri' here mentioned, whose full title was 'decemviri sacris faciendis.' Livy calls them (10. 8. 2) 'carminum Sibyllae ac factorum populi huius (i. e. Romani) interpretes.'

**novendiale sacrum edictum,** 'a holy festival of nine days was

**Chap. 62.** proclaimed.' The first shower of stones happened on the Alban Mount in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. At that time (according to one tradition, by the advice of a voice speaking on the Mount) a nine days' sacred festival was publicly held, and the custom was preserved ever afterwards that there should be such a festival whenever showers of that nature were reported.

*aliis procurandis*, 'in performing the rites necessary for the expiation of the other omens.' For '*proculo*' see 46. 3.

§ 7. *hostiæ . . . maiores*, 'full-grown victims.' '*Maiores*' is opposed to '*lactentes*.'

*quibus editum est*, 'to whom they were enjoined (by the sacred books) to offer them.' (Capes, who observes that '*edere*' is a word specially used of these oracular warnings.) '*Quibus*' refers to '*dis*.'

§ 8. *ex auri pondo quadraginta*, 'of forty pounds of gold.' '*Pondo*,' originally the ablative of an old substantive '*pondus*' with gen. '*pondi*,' meant 'by weight,' and then from being used with '*libra*,' '*librae*,' &c. became an indeclinable substantive meaning 'a pound' or 'pounds.'

*lectisternium*. In this ceremony images of the gods in whose honour it was performed were placed on couches (*pulvinaria*) and food was set before them.

*supplicatio*, a processional service either of thanksgiving or prayer (here the latter). A '*lectisternium*' and '*supplicatio*' were often connected, as in the case of those mentioned in the next section.

§ 9. *nominatim* is best translated as if it were an adjective belonging to '*lectisternium*.' 'At Rome, too, a special festival and service were ordained to be held by the youth at the temple of Hercules, and others by all the people at the couches of all the gods.'

§ 10. *C. Atilius Serranus praetor*. The praetor has to take the vow because there is no consul at Rome. Otherwise one of the consuls would have taken it.

*si in decem annos*, &c. is the condition on which the offerings vowed by the praetor were to be paid to the gods.

*stetisset* represents the fut. perf. of *oratio recta*.

§ 11. *Haec procurata vota*que, &c. 'The performance of these atonements and the offering of these vows according to the Sibylline books.'

**Chap. 63.** § 1. *Consulum designatorum*, 'of the consuls elect.'  
*sorte evenerant*. As a rule, however, the Senate decided on the armies that the consuls were to have.

*edictum et litteras*, 'a letter containing an order.'

*idibus Martiis*, 'on the fifteenth of March.' This was the day on which the consuls would begin their year of office.

§ 2. *Hic in provincia.* 'At this place (Ariminum) in his province,' **Chap.**  
(instead of at Rome, where, according to the constitutional practice, the **63.**  
consul ought to enter on his office).

*veterum certaminum cum patribus.* As tribune of the plebs in B.C. 232, Flaminius had brought in an agrarian law for colonizing Picenum. This law the Senate, probably regarding it as a demagogue's bid for popularity, had resisted, but Flaminius persevered in it and carried it 'contra senatus auctoritatem.' In doing this he kept within his legal rights, but acted unconstitutionally in refusing to obey the Senate. Polybius says that the Gallic war was brought about by this measure.

After this Flaminius had been consul in B.C. 223. The Senate had passed a decree requiring him to lay down his office as being 'vitio creatus,' i.e. elected with faulty auspices. He refused to comply, and subsequently won a victory over the Insubres. The Senate refused him a triumph, but he triumphed without their leave.

*qui abrogabatur.* Lit. 'which was being taken away from him,' i.e. 'of which they tried to deprive him.' As Capes remarks, the Senate could not do more than declare Flaminius to be 'vitio creatus' (cf. 'inauspicato factum' § 7), and call upon him to resign, for his office could only be *taken away* by 'the people.' The reader should notice that 'the People' is the legal sovereign of Rome, governing by means of its magistrates, but that the real power is in the hands of the Senate, a body which according to the letter of the law can only advise. In England the legal sovereign is the Queen, but the real power is in the hands of her ministers, who are elected not by her but by the representatives of the people. As in England all measures before they become law must receive the assent of the Queen, so in Rome the only way in which a law could be made was by a magistrate of the people asking the people to enact it, or by a magistrate of the plebs, whose decrees (plebiscita) had the force of law, asking the plebs to enact it. But magistrates, who were not revolutionary, never brought measures before the people or the plebs, except by the direction of the Senate.

§ 3. *invisus.* Strict grammar would require 'inviso.'

§ 4. *quaestus omnis*, &c. 'trade was thought altogether beneath the dignity of a senator.'

*nobilitatem.* This must not be supposed to mean the patricians. The distinction between patricians and plebeians was now in great measure forgotten. A noble at Rome was a man whose ancestors had held curule offices, and he might be either a patrician like Scipio, or a plebeian like Flaminius or Sempronius.

*apud plebem.* 'Plebs' is not used in its strict sense here, but denotes the Romans who were not 'nobiles.'

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**63.**

inde, as a result of this (the 'favor apud plebem').

§ 5. *auspiciis ementiendis*, 'by falsely declaring the auspices unfavourable.' It was a usual party manoeuvre to declare that something was wrong with the auspices with which a member of the opposite party had been elected or had entered on his office.

*Latinarumque feriarum mora*, 'and by the delay which the Latin festival would cause.' The consuls on entering upon office had to determine the time of this festival, and had to offer the sacrifices in the festival.

*et consularibus aliis impedimentis*, 'and by other hindrances which could be put in a consul's way.'

*retenturos se*, 'that his enemies would keep him.'

*simulato itinere*, 'pretending that he had to take a journey;' i.e. pretending that he was called away by private affairs.

*privatus* means that he was not yet consul.

§ 6. *cum dis immortalibus*. In setting out for his province 'in-  
auspicato.'

§ 7. *nunc conscientia*, &c. 'now remembering how he had despised them (the gods and men spoken of in the last section), he had fled from the ceremony on the Capitol, and the time-honoured taking of the vows.' It was on the Capitol that the auspices and the vows were taken.

§ 8. *senatum*. It was usual for the consul to hold a meeting of the senate on the first day of his year of office.

*invisus ipse et sibi . . . invisum*. For the 'et' coupling dissimilar words, cf. 48. 2 'quos Poenus benigne allocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos . . . dimisit.'

*Latinas*, sc. 'ferias.'

*in monte*. On the Alban Mount, where the *Feriae Latinae* were held.

§ 9. *auspicato*. This must mean auspiciously in a general sense, as the auspices were not taken until the consul had gone up into the Capitol.

*paludatus*, 'in his general's cloak.'

*haud aliter quam si exilii*, &c. 'just as if he had left his country to live abroad.' '*Solum vertere*' is to change the land you live in, and 'exilium' means the abandonment of the rights of citizenship at Rome in order to live in some allied town.

§ 10. *Magis pro maiestate*, &c. 'No doubt it would better accord with the dignity of his high command to enter upon his office at Ariminum than at Rome, and to put on his robes in a public inn rather than among the gods of his household.' The sentence is, of course, ironical.

*praetextam*. This (civic) robe of office must be distinguished from the military '*paludamentum*.'



§ 13. *immolanti . . . ei.* A sort of *dativus incommodi* after 'sese . . . proripuisse.' **Chap. 63.**

§ 14. *procul*, 'at a distance' (from the place of sacrifice).  
*etiam maior.* This implies that those immediately round the altar had not taken to flight, though we have not been told this.  
*apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur*, 'among the people there, who did not know what the cause of the confusion was.'

## BOOK XXII.

§ 1. *et nequicquam.* The first 'et' prepares the way for the second, and is not to be translated. **Chap. 1.**

*moratus.* Hannibal had had to stop two days in one place on the Apennines (21. 58. 11) 'Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere.'

§ 2. *pro eo, ut . . . raperent agerentque*, 'instead of their being able to carry off plunder,' &c.

§ 3. *levitate*, 'faithlessness.'  
*tegumenta capitis.* Not 'hats,' but 'wigs.' By 'changing . . . his wigs,' Livy does not mean to imply that Hannibal ordinarily wore a wig, but that he now made use of several for the purposes of disguise. According to Polybius the wigs differed in the ages that they represented, and the rest of the disguise always corresponded to the wig, the whole being so cleverly contrived that Hannibal's friends could hardly recognise him. This Polybius calls a 'Phoenician stratagem,' it certainly seems characteristic of Hannibal.

*errore etiam*, 'by puzzling his foes.' 'Etiam' emphasizes 'errore,' and should not be translated.

§ 5. *Ibi quum de re publica*, &c. 'When he had there (i.e. in Rome) brought the question of State affairs before the Senate' (see note on 21. 6. 3). This was the proper thing for the new consul to do; it was exactly what Flaminius had neglected to do (21. 63. 8), naturally then 'redintegrata in C. Flaminius invidia est.'

*iustum*, 'proper.' Flaminius had not waited to have the 'lex curiata' passed, without which he could not have the 'imperium,' at least not constitutionally.

§ 6. *id.* The auspices. The reader will notice that 'to have the auspices,' though it implies the power of taking them, and results from taking them at the beginning of the year of office, is yet quite a different thing from taking the auspices.

*ferre*, i.e. when they acted as they ought.

§ 7. *nec privatum*, &c. 'no auspices attended a man without office, nor could he who had left Rome without them take them afresh on a foreign soil.'

**Chap. 1.** § 8. *spicula . . . arsisse*. In some states of the atmosphere an electric discharge from the points of the javelins might be distinctly luminous, and possibly the same phenomenon might occur in the case of the '*scipio*,' if it was tipped with metal.

§ 9. *et solis orbem minui visum*. This may have been a partial eclipse. This phenomenon might also make it appear that the sun was 'fighting with the moon.' For though the ignorant spectator would not recognise the dark body as the moon, he might mistake for the moon the undarkened part of the sun, which during part of the eclipse would be in the shape of a crescent. Some of the other portents related, for instance the '*ardentes lapides*' (meteoric stones), may have had foundation in fact.

§ 12. *simulacra luporum*. The statues of these animals were probably close to the temple of their patron Mars, on the Appian Way, outside the Porta Appia.

§ 13. *minoribus . . . dictu*, 'less romantic.' They were meaner and less interesting, and so it was less likely that they should obtain credit.

*lanatas . . . factas*. This means that their hair became wool, not that they became sheep.

§ 15. *maioribus hostiis, &c.* For the religious terms employed in this section and the next, see notes on 21. 62. 6-8.

§ 16. *cetera*. In translating, 'ut' must be taken before '*cetera*.' *cordi esse*, 'to be pleasing.'

§ 17. *maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur*, lit. 'sacrifice should be made *with* full-grown victims.'

§ 18. *libertinae et ipsae*, 'even the very freedwomen' (Church and Brodribb).

§ 19. *Decembri iam mense*. Livy is anticipating, for he means Dec. B. C. 217.

§ 20. *Saturnalia . . . clamata*. This was done by calling out 'Io Saturnalia!' and was a regular practice at the festival thus advertised. The Saturnalia were always celebrated in December.

**Chap. 2.** § 1. *dilectu*, dative.

§ 2. *quum aliud, &c.* 'although another route, more easy, if longer, was pointed out to him.'

*inundaverat*, here absolute, 'had overflowed.' So '*solito magis inundaverat*' will mean 'had caused greater floods than usual.'

§ 3. *id omne veterani, &c.* 'these formed the whole strength of his veteran army.' Notice the (so-called) attraction, by which we have '*id erat*,' instead of '*hi erant*.' Cf. '*ut id medium agminis esset*' in this same section.

*necubi* is *ne-cubi* ('cubi' being the original form of 'ubi') and means 'lest . . . anywhere.' In this sentence the 'anywhere' practically belongs

to 'consistere coactis.' 'So that if they were forced to halt anywhere, they might not be without the necessities of life.' **Chap. 2.**

*novissimos ire*, 'to close the rear.' As Weissenborn remarks, it is difficult to see how, if the cavalry came last, Mago and his Numidian horse could come after them ('inde' § 4), and close the rear. He suggests that the words '*novissimos ire equites*' are pleonastic. Polybius puts the matter clearly, saying that Hannibal put the cavalry in the rear under the command of Mago.

§ 4. *Gallos* is governed by '*cohibentem*.'

*ut est mollis ad talia gens*, 'with their characteristic impatience of exertion.'

§ 5. *Primi*. The Spaniards and Africans.

*hausti paene*, 'almost swallowed up.'

§ 7. *et ipsa*. As well as the men; cf. '*et ipsae*' in § 18 of the last chapter.

§ 8. *nihil, ubi in sicco*. We should say, 'no dry place where.'

§ 9. *tantum, quod exstaret aqua, quaerentibus*, 'to men whose only wish was to find something that stood above the water.'

*ad quietem parvi temporis* goes with '*cubile*.'

*necessarium*; ἀναγκαῖον. It means the only one that could be had, and that a bad one.

*dabant*. Notice that this verb has a subject different from that of '*incumbebant*.'

§ 10. *variante calores frigoraque*, 'with its alternations of heat and cold.'

§ 11. *palustri... caelo*, 'marshy (i.e. marsh-poisoned) climate,' hence 'malaria.'

*altero oculo capitur*, 'lost the sight of one of his eyes.'

§ 1. *ubi primum in sicco potuit*, lit. 'where he could first do so on dry land,' i.e. 'on the first dry spot that he could find.' **Chap. 3.**

§ 2. *copias ad commeatus expediendos*, 'facilities for obtaining supplies.'

*quae cognosse in rem erat*, 'an acquaintance with which was likely to be useful.' 'In rem' is rather like our expression 'to the purpose.'

§ 3. *Regio erat*, &c. 'The district—the Etruscan plains which lie between Faesulae and Arretium—was one of the most fertile in Italy.' 'Opulenti' may be translated as if it agreed with 'regio.' This section and the next give a summary of the information that Hannibal obtained.

§ 4. *ferox*, 'arrogant.'

§ 5. *quo-que*. Two words.

§ 6. *laeva relicto hoste*. How Hannibal could have done this, or why he should have marched towards Faesulae and away from Arretium,

**Chap.** which lies to the south of Faesulae, it is impossible to understand.  
**3.** Livy, whose geography is not accurate, has made some mistake.

§ 7. *ferri agique*, a formula, 'being plundered.'

*suum id dedecus ratus*. 'Id' is in apposition to and anticipates the sentence '*per . . . oppugnanda*,' just as we anticipate a clause by 'it' ('thinking *it* a reproach to himself that,' &c.)

§ 10. *Immo*. 'By all means.' Of course ironical.

*Camillum ab Veiiis*. According to the account given in Livy 5. 46, foll. it was ordained by a *senatusconsultum* passed in the besieged Capitol (while the Gauls were in possession of the rest of Rome), '*uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exsilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur*,' and that he was thereupon summoned from Ardea, the place of his exile, to Veii, where most of the Romans had collected after the destruction of their city by the Gauls.

§ 12. *velut foedo omine*, &c. 'by what they thought a fearful omen for the beginning of the campaign.'

*omni vi moliente signifero*. Ablative absolute, 'though the standard-bearer pulled at it with all his might.'

§ 13. '*Num litteras quoque*, &c.' As had happened to Flaminius in his Gallic campaign.

*effodiant*, supply '*ut*.'

§ 14. *milite in vulgus*, &c. 'while the common soldiers (or 'the soldiers generally') were delighted with the spirited behaviour of their general, for they thought a great deal about his confidence and very little about his reasons for it.'

**Chap.** § 2. *maxime . . . subit*, 'approaches most closely to.' Mommsen  
**4.** thus describes the scene of this famous battle. 'A narrow defile between two steep mountain walls closed at its outlet by a high hill and at its entrance by the Trasimene lake.' The way into the defile was by the '*via perangusta*,' mentioned in the next sentence, which skirted the N. W. corner of the lake, passing between it and the hills.

*inde*, 'from that place,' i. e. from the '*campus*.'

§ 4. *pridie*. Only so in reference to '*postero die*' in the next sentence, not in reference to the movements of Hannibal, who reached the lake before Flaminius.

*inexplorato*. A quasi-adverb, 'without reconnoitring.'

*angustiis*. These were the '*via perangusta*' which led into the defile itself. The defile is described as '*patientiorem campum*' in this section and as '*paulo latior campus*' in § 2. It had, of course, hills on both sides; the '*via perangusta*' had hills on one side and the lake on the other.

*deceptae insidiae*. The MS. reading will give no sense and is probably corrupt. Lipsius suggested '*decepere*,' in the sense of 'fefe-

lere' ('escaped notice') instead of 'deceptae.' This would give sense, **Chap.**  
but by giving an almost unparalleled meaning to 'decipio.' **4.**

§ 5. *clausum . . . habuit.* 'Habuit' is no mere auxiliary here. The phrase means not 'had shut in,' but 'had shut in and caught.'

*simul* goes with 'invadendi'; 'gave a signal to all his troops to attack the enemy together.'

§ 6. *qua cuique proximum fuit.* Cf. 21. 5. 12 'qua cuique proximum est.'

*eo* prepares us for the 'quod' in the next sentence.

*satis conspecta*, 'pretty clearly visible.' But in the next section 'satis,' being virtually negated by 'priusquam' and 'antequam,' will have a stronger force thus—

§ 7. *prius . . . quam satis cerneret* is 'before they (lit. 'he') could see clearly' and

*ante . . . quam satis instrueretur acies* is 'before line could be properly formed.'

§ 1. *satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus*, 'with considerable bravery under the circumstances.' Livy has certainly used the word 'satis' too often in the last few lines. **Chap.**  
**5.**

§ 2. *nec enim inde votis, &c.* Livy keeps up to the end the character of Flaminius as a 'contemptor deum.'

*feri*, 'could be made.'

§ 3. *tantumque aberat.* In the idiom 'tantum abest ut . . . ut,' the first 'ut' depends on the 'abest,' the second on the 'tantum.' Thus the sentence before us literally means, 'that they should know their own standards . . . was so much out of the question, that they had hardly the presence of mind to,' &c.

*opprimerentur*, 'were cut down.'

§ 6. *ab lateribus montes ac lacus.* Those in the 'paulo latior campus' had hills on both sides, those in the 'via perangusta' had hills on one side and the lake on the other.

*dux adhortatorque factus.* Supply 'est.'

§ 7. *non illa ordinata, &c.,* lit. 'not the usual battle that was arranged with first, second, and third lines,' i. e. not one in which the usual order of first, second, and third lines was kept. At this time the 'hastati' formed the first line, the 'principes' the second, and the 'triarii' (also called 'pilani') the third. Each line was about four deep, and there were spaces between the separate lines, and also spaces between the different maniples in the lines.

The first two lines were called 'antepilani' and the third 'pilani,' from a now obsolete system of equipment, for at this time the 'pilani' were not armed with the 'pilum,' but with the 'hasta,' while the 'antepilani' were armed with the 'pilum.'

**Chap. 5.** *antesignani* means 'hastati,' the standards being carried between them and the 'principes.'

§ 8. *ante aut post*, 'whether in the front or the rear.'

**Chap. 6.** § 1. *atrociter*, 'fiercely.'

§ 3. *Ducario*. Dative.

*popularibus suis*, 'to his countrymen.'

*mānibus*, not 'mānibus.'

§ 4. *qui se infesto*, &c. 'who had put himself in the way of his charge.' *triarii*, i. e. men who ordinarily fought as 'triarii.' All was confusion at the battle of Lake Trasimenus, but the consul had some of his best soldiers round him, (see § 2), and these would be 'triarii.'

§ 6. *ubi*, 'finding that.'

*paludis* depends on 'aquam.'

*quoad capitibus*, &c., lit. 'as far as they could keep their heads and shoulders above water,' i. e. they went to the furthest point which would allow of their heads and shoulders being above water.

*sese immergunt* does not mean 'drowned themselves,' but merely 'immersed themselves.' They tried to escape death by going as far out into the water as they safely could. Most of them were probably cut down by the cavalry.

§ 7. *quae*. Their 'fuga' (escape) by swimming.

*immensa*, 'endless,' i. e. 'impossible.'

*nequicquam fessi*, 'after exhausting themselves in vain.'

*aegerrime*, 'with the greatest difficulty.'

*ab . . . equestribus . . . trucidabantur*. For the advantage possessed by cavalry over infantry in water shallow enough for both to stand in, see 21. 5. 14.

§ 8. *per adversos hostes*. These were Hannibal's heavy Spanish and African infantry.

*ex saltu*. The 'saltus' is the 'paulo latior campus.'

*prae caligine*. The morning mist was still lying on the valley.

§ 9. *Inclinata . . . re*. 'When victory was decided.'

*perditas res*, &c. 'the ruin and horrible slaughter of the Roman army.'

§ 12. *quae Punica religione*, &c. 'The promise was kept by Hannibal with Carthaginian good faith; all the prisoners were put in chains.' The promise was not Hannibal's own, and (according to Polybius) he maintained that Maherbal had not the right to make it.

**Chap. 7.** § 1. *nobilis*, 'famous.'

§ 3. *Multiplex*, 'Many times as great.'

§ 4. *ego praeterquam quod*, &c. 'I, besides the fact that I dislike all absurd exaggeration, a fault to which writers are so often inclined, have

preferred the authority of Fabius, who lived at the time of the war, to that of all others.' **Chap. 7.**

**Fabium.** The historian Fabius Pictor.

§ 5. **captivorum qui Latini nominis essent.** With 'captivorum' understand 'iis.' Polybius adds that Hannibal said, 'I have come to make war not upon the Italians, but upon Rome, in order to set the Italians free.' His policy was to win the Italians from their alliance with Rome. He knew that his ultimate success depended chiefly on this, and that but little help was likely to come to him from Carthage.

**Flaminii quoque corpus, &c.** The fact speaks well for Hannibal's generosity, and the record of it for Livy's candour.

§ 6. **ad primum nuntium,** 'on the first news.' So also 'nuntios,' in § 11, means 'tidings.'

§ 7. **repens** is to be taken with 'allata' and translated 'suddenly.'

§ 12. **nuntiis** here may be either 'messages' or 'messengers.'

§ 14. **praetores.** Here again we find the 'praetor' appearing as the head of the republic when there is no consul in Rome; see 21. 62. 10.

§ 1. **Servilio consule.** He was at or near Ariminum.

§ 2. **ducere,** as also 'aestimare' in the next section, is a historic infinitive. **Chap. 8.**

§ 3. **sed.** After this word supply 'they thought.'

**magis . . . gravior** has been strangely taken by some of the best critics to be a double comparative, the sense, according to them, being 'is more heavily felt.' Even if this is Latin there can be no doubt that 'magis' is to be taken with 'sentiretur,' and that Livy meant '(they thought that), as on a body weakened by disease a disturbing influence, however slight, has more effect than a more powerful one has on a robust frame,' &c.

§ 4. **non rerum magnitudine,** 'not by its actual importance.'

§ 5. **neque desideratum nec, &c.** 'that had been neither needed nor applied.'

**quia et consul aberat, a quo uno, &c.** The dictator was nominated by one of the consuls (according, be it observed, to the senate's direction), and there was no other means by which he could be appointed. The consul should if possible be present in Rome, but this was not absolutely necessary (see 33. 11) provided that the consul who made the nomination was within the 'ager Romanus,' which included all Italy at this time. Ariminum, however, could hardly count as Italian yet, and in 31. 9 Livy says that at this time Servilius 'procul in Gallia provincia aberat.' Anyhow rapid communication with him was out of the question. The natural conclusion is that a dictator could not possibly have been appointed at this time, and in chap. 31. 8-10 Livy solves the difficulty by suggesting that the Romans to avoid

**Chap. 8.** delay adopted the expedient of making Fabius a pro-dictator by a decree of the people. It is curious that Livy should not have reconciled the present passage with his maturer views, but no doubt he here had Caelius open before him, the passage in ch. 31. being afterwards added to save the trouble of correction.

*non consulto senatus* is a conjecture of Madvig's. For the 'populo' or 'populus' of the MSS. 'praetor' has been suggested as an emendation.

§ 6. *magistrum equitum*. A dictator properly had always a 'magister equitum' (originally to command the cavalry under him) appointed either with him, as in this case, or by him (see 33. 11). All the other magistrates of the 'populus' became powerless and subject to the dictator's authority, but this was not the case with the officers of the plebs (the tribunes and plebeian aediles). In the dictator's absence the Master of the Horse was the supreme magistrate, and he was responsible to the Dictator only. The *rank* of the *magister equitum* was probably equal—perhaps slightly superior—to that of a praetor.

§ 7. *quibus locis videretur*, 'in whatever places they should think fit.'

**Chap. 9.** § 2. *urbem. Spoletium.*

*coniectans ex unius, &c.* It is most unlikely that Hannibal had not discovered until now what it would cost him to besiege Rome, or that he had ever intended to lay siege to Rome at this stage of his operations.

§ 4. *per dies aliquot stativa habita*. Polybius tells us that Hannibal employed this holiday time, not only in restoring the health and spirits of his horses and men, but in re-arming his African infantry after the Roman fashion with the arms that he had taken in his victories.

*magis ad eventum secundo quam*. This sentence constructed 'more Liviano' can be rendered in English only by some such paraphrase as 'which, though it had ended in victory, had not been by any means light and easy work.'

§ 5. *Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum*, 'the Praetutian land round Hadria.' Hadria or Hatria was in Picenum; the Praetutii were a people living near.

*Marsos . . . Marrucinosque et Pelignos*. These are also the names of peoples. They lived between Samnium on the south-east, Latium on the south, Latium and the Sabine territory on the west, and Picenum on the north.

*Arpos et Luceriam*. These were towns in Apulia, hence 'proximam Apuliae regionem' means 'the nearest portions of Apulia,' and by 'nearest' Livy means 'nearest to Rome.'



§ 6. *moenibus . . . metuens* is like our own idiom.

**Chap.**  
**9.**

*ad urbem iter intendit*, 'directed his march towards the city.'

§ 7. *dictator iterum*, 'now dictator for the second time.' Though technically a *pro-dictator*, Fabius would no doubt always be spoken of as 'the dictator.'

§ 8. *non ferme*, 'hardly ever.'

*taetra* is the emphatic word in the sentence.

§ 9. *quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret*. Unless the 'vota' made by C. Atilius the praetor (21. 62. 10) were made to Mars (as Weissenborn suggests), we have no record of this vow. The sentence is literally, 'that that which had been vowed to Mars on account of the war, having been not rightly done, must be done afresh,' &c., i. e. 'that the vow which had been made to Mars on account of the war must, since it had not been made with the proper observances, be made afresh and with greater solemnity.'

§ 10. *ver sacrum*. To vow a '*ver sacrum*' had once meant to vow to sacrifice to the gods, in event of success, all that should be born during the coming March and April. It seems to have been originally a Sabine custom, at one time involving human sacrifice, for which was afterwards substituted the practice of sending away the young men and women so vowed in their twentieth year to seek new homes. The '*ver sacrum*' vowed at Rome in B. C. 217 did not apply to human beings. See the third section of the next chapter.

*si bellatum prospere esset*, &c. The tense represents the '*bellatum erit*' of *oratio recta*. Cf. the similar passage in 21. 62. 10 '*si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu*.'

§ 11. *ex collegii pontificum sententia* is to be taken with '*iubet*;' 'ordered according to the direction of the college of pontiffs.'

§ 2. *Rogatus*, sc. '*est*.'

**Chap.**  
**10.**

*Velitis iubeatisne*. For '*velitisne et iubeatis*.' The words depend, says Weissenborn, on '*rogo vos*' or some such words understood, while the rest of the question put by the magistrate is in *oratio recta*.

*ad quinquennium proximum*, 'up to the next period of five years;' i. e. 'through the present period of five years;' in other words, 'through the next five years.' But it must not be supposed that '*ad*' could possibly mean 'through.' Observe that Aemilius counts by '*lustra*.'

*duellis . . . duellum*, &c. Old forms of '*bellis*,' '*bellum*,' &c. The question put to the people is no doubt quoted from a genuine archaic document, and is not, like the speeches, a composition by Livy.

§ 3. *duit*, old pres. subj. of 'do.'

*attulerit*, fut. perf. ind., *not* perf. subj.

**Chap. 10.** quaeque profana erunt. A proviso. 'Not being already consecrated' (Church and Brodribb).

feri, 'to be sacrificed.' The word depends on 'duit.' In classical Latin we should have the gerundive instead of the infinitive here.

Further, 'fio' in the sense of 'I am offered in sacrifice' is strange Latin, for 'I offer an ox' is not 'facio bovem' but 'facio bove.'

§ 4. quo modo faxit, &c. 'in whatever way we shall perform the sacrifice be it reckoned fairly performed;' 'faxit' is an old form of future perfect from 'facio' (faxy, faxis, faxit).

§ 5. profanum esto, 'it shall be held not to have been vowed.' This means that the owner would not have to supply its place by a fresh victim.

rumpet, 'shall hurt.' The object to this verb is 'id, quod fieri oportebit' understood.

clepsit, formed from 'clepo' (κλέπτω), like 'faxit' from 'facio.'

§ 6. Si atro die, &c. 'If anyone shall unwittingly offer his sacrifice on an evil day, be it held to have been rightly offered.'

antidea, an old form of 'antea.'

faxitur is the passive of 'faxit.'

eo populus solutus, &c. 'the people shall be free and clear of it,' i.e. the fault of the individual shall not vitiate the atonement of the nation. In this particular case the man who committed the error is not protected from the divine wrath by any saving clause.

§ 7. aeris trecentis, &c. 'at a cost of 333,333½ ases.' It will be noticed that this fanciful number is exactly one third of a million. Weissenborn thinks that the 'as' here meant is the old one, worth four times the value of the reduced 'as' used at this time, and equivalent to the current 'sestertius.' During the course of Fabius' pro-dictatorship the 'as' was still further reduced.

bubus Iovi trecentis. Supply 'votum est fieri.'

§ 8. sed agrestium etiam, sc. 'multitudo.'

quos aliqua sua fortuna, &c. 'who were beginning to feel the state's danger as soon as it affected in any way their own prosperity.'

§ 10. aedes, 'temples.'

ex fatalibus libris, &c. 'it had been proclaimed in accordance with the Prophetic Books.' The Sibylline books are meant. The 'ita' which precedes the words quoted merely prepares the way for the clause 'ut is voveret,' &c.

**Chap. 11.** § 1. tum de bello, &c. 'turning to the war and the state business relating to it, the dictator put the question as to how many legions and what legions ought in the opinion of the Senate to be employed against their victorious foe.'

§ 2. *scriberet*, 'that he should levy.'

*quantum equitum*, &c. 'as large a force of cavalry and infantry as should seem good to him.'

*ut e re publica duceret*, 'as he should think to be for the interests of the state.' The phrase '*e re publica*' is a usual but remarkable one.

§ 4. *immunita essent*, 'were not properly fortified.' '*Uti*' is only a repetition of the preceding '*ut*.'

§ 5. *viatorem*, 'an attendant,' probably not one of his lictors.

§ 6. *vetustate*, 'from its long disuse.'

*portum Cosanum*. Cosa was in Etruria almost due West of Otricoli.

§ 7. *Itaque extemplo*, &c. The general is expected to turn admiral at a moment's notice.

§ 8. *libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent*. These freedmen were *allowed* to serve as being fathers of children who would have a right to do so. The sons of '*libertini*' were '*ingenui*' (free-born), but the '*libertini*' themselves were not.

§ 2. *in viam Latinam*. To reach this he would have to march South from Praeneste.

*ducit*, sc. '*exercitum*.'

*nullo loco*, &c. 'resolved never to accept battle—unless forced to do so—where he could not make sure of success.'

§ 3. *nulla mora facta, quin*, &c. 'Hannibal at once formed line, and offered battle.'

§ 4. *nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt* means merely that Hannibal saw that the Roman camp was quiet and still.

*quidem* (μέν) prepares us for '*ceterum*' (δέ) at the beginning of the next sentence.

*quos* is clearly corrupt, and must either be altered or omitted.

*debellatumque*, &c. 'and they had been beaten, and had acknowledged themselves inferior in valour and prestige.'

§ 5. *futura sibi res esset*, 'he would have to do.'

*parem Hannibali*. These patriotic exaggerations are a serious defect in Livy as a historian. In point of generalship none of the Roman commanders opposed to Hannibal were in the least comparable to him, and the services which Fabius rendered to his country at this time were of a decidedly negative character.

§ 6. *constantiam*, 'his firmness.'

§ 7. *si excipere degressum*, &c. 'in hopes of catching him when he had descended to the plain.'

§ 8. *ut neque omitteret eum*, &c. 'so as to keep him in sight while avoiding an engagement.'

**Chap. 12.** § 9. suo militi, 'to their comrades.' For the whole sentence, cf. 21. 7. 8 'nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati.'

§ 10. *committebatur* is strictly imperfect. Fabius was resolved not to stake the fortune of the campaign (*summa rerum*) on one pitched battle (*universo periculo*).

et *parva momenta*, &c. 'and by small successes won in skirmishes, always begun with caution and with a strong position to fall back on, the troops, at first cowed by their former defeats, gradually learnt to feel less dissatisfied with themselves and the prospects of the war.'

§ 11. *qui nihil aliud*, &c. 'whose subordinate position was the only thing which prevented him from ruining his country.'

§ 12. *pro*, 'instead of'

*cunctatore*. 'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.'

*affingens vicina virtutibus vitia*, 'falsely attributing to him the faults that resembled his virtues.'

*premendo*, 'by depreciating.'

*quae pessima ars*, &c. 'a wicked practice, which has been encouraged by many instances of undeserved success.'

**Chap. 13.** § 1. *indignitatibus*, 'insults.'

§ 3. *quum res maior*, &c. gives the reason for 'dubium. *alternisque*, sc. 'vicibus.'

*tamen* is to be taken with 'moverunt.'

§ 4. *etiam atque etiam*, 'again and again.'

*rebus*, 'by performance.'

§ 5. *duci*, 'his guide.'

§ 6. *os*. We should say 'tongue.'

*Casilinum* on the Volturnus was about 30 miles S.S.W. of *Casinum*, and close to *Capua*. *Casinum* was in *Latium* near the Samnite border. *ab suo itinere*, from the route that he had meant to take.

§ 8. *et Casinum*, &c. 'and (it was discovered that) *Casinum* was far away in a different part of Italy.'

§ 9. *virgisque caeso duce*, &c. This, if true, was a horrible piece of injustice and cruelty. It would have been bad policy too, as the man was, presumably, an Italian. However, it does not seem at all likely that Hannibal can ever have meant to go to *Casinum*.

*agrum Falernum*. This was the district of the famous 'Falerian' wine.

§ 10. *aquas Sinuessanas*. 'The Baths of Sinuessa' (Church and Brodrigg); cf. such names as *Aquae Sextiae*, *Eaux Bonnes*, *Matlock Bath*, &c.

§ 11. *quum*, though doubtless in part explanatory of 'is terror,' had best be translated by 'although,' on account of its reference to what follows.

§ 1. **Massici montis.** This was between Latium and Campania. **de integro** is a hint that even before this time Minucius' insinuations had had their effect on Fabius' soldiers.

§ 5. **progressus**, on account of its construction with the ablatives 'cunctatione' and 'socordia' must be translated as if it were a passive verb, 'having been allowed to advance.'

§ 6. **praeter quam oram**, &c. If this refers to any supposed treaty, it is a mistake. There was no treaty to prevent Carthaginians from coasting along Italy. See on 21. 10. 8.

**plenam hostium**, &c. 'overrun by our foes and in the possession of Numidians and Moors.'

§ 7. **Saguntum**, &c. 'in our indignation at the storming of Saguntum.' Notice that Livy prefers 'indignando' to 'indignantes,' and cf. the French use of 'en souriant,' &c., instead of 'souriant.'

**Romanae coloniae**, i.e. Sinuessa.

§ 8. **pecorum modo** refers not to 'nos,' but to 'exercitum.'

**aestivus saltus** means 'highland pastures,' it being the custom to take the cattle from the hot plains to the hills during the summer months. Hence the force of 'pecorum modo.'

§ 9. **M. Furius**, i.e. Camillus.

§ 11. **vir.** Emphatic here.

**quo die dictatorem**, &c. 'on the very day that the news of his being appointed dictator . . . was brought to Veii.' It has been pointed out in a former note that Camillus, according to the account given in 5. 46, was at Ardea, not at Veii, and was summoned from Ardea to Veii.

**quum esset satis altum Ianiculum**, &c. 'though Janiculum was quite high enough to give him a view of the enemy at his leisure.' Of course ironical.

**busta Gallica.** 'The Gauls' burying ground,' so called, Livy tells us, because the Gauls who were besieging the Capitol burnt there many of their own number who died of a pestilence.

§ 12. **ad Furculas Caudinas.** The Caudine Forks were a defile in Samnium where the Roman army was enclosed by the Samnites in B. C. 321. They had to capitulate, the condition being that they should pass under the yoke 'inermes cum singulis vestimentis,' evacuate Samnium, and make peace. Accordingly they were sent under the yoke, but the Romans afterwards repudiated the peace, contenting themselves with giving up to the Samnites in the next year those who had sworn to the treaty. In that same year L. Papirius Cursor took Luceria from the Samnites and forced its garrison to go under the yoke.

§ 13. **C. Lutatius**, who ended the First Punic War by the victory at the Aegates Insulae.

**quod**, 'for.'

§ 14. **debellari.** Impersonal.

**Chap. 14.** § 15. *velut contionanti*. Compare what is said of Sempronius on a like occasion, '*haec . . . prope contionabundus agere*' (21. 53. 6).

*equitumque Romanorum*. This term, as has been explained, does not mean cavalry, but men of a particular social rank. The 'tribunes' mentioned with them are, of course, '*tribuni militum*.'

*ac si militaris suffragii*, &c. 'and they unhesitatingly said, that if the matter depended on the votes of the soldiers, they would make Minucius general over Fabius' head.'

**Chap. 15.** § 1. *prius ab illis*, &c. 'first showed that his resolution was not overcome by the former.'

§ 2. *quia ea regio*. This sentence explains why Hannibal had to look about him for a place for his winter quarters, and could not find one ready at hand.

*praesentis erat copiae*. This means, says Weissenborn, that the neighbourhood offered subsistence 'only for the summer, not for the whole year.'

*arbusta vineaeque*, &c. is in apposition to '*ea regio*.'

§ 4. *iugis iisdem*, i.e. those of M. Massicus by which he had come (14. 3).

§ 5. *Qui, ex turba*. 'He, being one of the,' &c.  
*saepe* goes with '*audientium*.'

§ 6. *excideruntque*, sc. '*ex animo*.'

*quantum tuto posset, progressum* was part of the dictator's orders, 'to advance as far as he could with safety, and then retreat before,' &c.

§ 7. *alii atque alii* implies that the Numidians relieved each other, and thus were able to tire out the enemy's cavalry.

*ad castra prope ipsa* goes not with '*refugientes*,' but with '*pertraxere*.'

§ 8. *prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret*. This is explained 'before he came within weapon's throw.'

*continenti cursu*, 'without halting once.'

§ 9. *omni parte virium impar* means nothing more than 'though his force was altogether inferior (to that of the enemy).'

§ 10. *delecti equitum*. These probably formed a body-guard round Mancinus.

§ 11. *ad firmandum*, 'to secure.'

*saltum*. The pass of Lautulae in Latium.

*in artas coactus fauces*, &c. 'contracts into a narrow gorge as it approaches the sea.'

*agrum Romanum*, 'the neighbourhood of Rome.'

§ 12. *deferunt*, i.e. from the heights on which they were.

§ 2. *sub ipso . . . vallo*, 'close to their entrenchments.'

*haud dubie aequiore loco*, 'and had certainly a better position.'

*successit*, 'came up.'

*Carptim* means that they made a succession of short attacks.

§ 4. *per*, 'among.'

§ 6. *ludibrium oculorum . . . ad frustrandum hostem*, 'a plan to deceive the eyes of the enemy.'

§ 8. *effecta*, 'were got together.'

*Hasdrubali*. Not, of course, Hannibal's brother, but the officer in command of his pioneers, &c.

*accensis cornibus* of course means no more than that the fagots, &c., on their horns were to be lighted. It is noticeable that neither Livy nor Polybius expresses any pity for the oxen, which, according to the Roman's account at any rate, must have suffered terribly. Similarly the author of the book of Judges expresses no pity for the foxes which Samson treated in a still more cruel manner (Judges 15. 4, 5). It has been remarked that the deeds of Samson may have been well known to the Phoenicians and their colonists at Carthage, and that Samson's device may therefore have suggested Hannibal's.

*si posset*. No doubt there would be a difficulty in directing the frightened animals with any nicety.

§ 2. *ad vivum ad imaque cornua*. A hendiadys.

§ 3. *visa*, 'seemed.'

*irrita* means that they were unable to shake off the burning wood.

§ 4. *Qui ad transitum*, &c. 'Those who had been placed to hold the pass.'

*Qua* refers to '*montium iuga*.'

§ 5. *veluti flammæ spirantium*, &c. 'they were spell-bound at the sight, thinking that the animals were breathing out flames.'

§ 6. *cum maiore tumultu*, 'in still greater panic than before.'

*incurrere*, perf., not hist. inf.

*ceterum nox æquato timore*, &c. 'but night coming on made each party afraid of the other, so they remained as they were until dawn, neither liking to begin an attack.' Livy has, by a remarkable and puzzling condensation, put '*neutros*' in apposition to '*utrosque*,' which is to be supplied out of '*neutros*' itself.

§ 1. *utique*, 'in any case.'

§ 3. *concursum*, 'skirmishing.'

*pugnae genere*, 'in an engagement of that kind,' or 'by their own method of fighting.'

§ 4. *aliquot suis*, 'a considerable number of their men.'

**Chap.  
16.**

**Chap.  
17.**

**Chap.  
18.**

**Chap.  
18.**

§ 5. *super Allifas* belongs to 'consedit,' not to 'saltum.'

§ 7. *Gereonium* and *Larinum* were both in the country of the *Frentani*, though *Livy* seems to regard *Gereonium* as being in *Apulia*. So in 39. 16 it is spoken of by *Fabius* as '*Castelli Apuliae inopis*.' However, *Livy* does not intend his speeches to be accurate, while in the passage before us he may mean no more than this, that *Gereonium* was in the direction of *Apulia* from the land of the *Peligni*.

§ 9. *ut plus consilio*, &c. 'to trust more to prudence than to chance, and to imitate his (*Fabius*)' generalship rather than that of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; he was not to think that nothing had been done when nearly the whole summer had been spent in making game of the enemy.'

**Chap.  
19.**

§ 2. *Hasdrubal*. *Hannibal*'s brother.

§ 3. *Carthagine*. New *Carthage* is meant.

*paratus configere*, &c. 'thus prepared to give battle, whatever should be the nature of the force with which the enemy opposed him.'

§ 4. *primo idem consilii fuit*, 'was at first of the same mind,' i. e. he also had meant to make a combined advance with army and fleet.

*ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum* need mean nothing more than 'the great reputation of *Hasdrubal*'s new allies,' though the commentators say that it means 'the report that *Hasdrubal* had a large number of new allies.'

§ 5. *Altero ab Tarracoe die*. 'On the day after leaving *Tarraco*.' *stationem*, 'a roadstead.'

*Massiliensium*. The people of *Massilia* were very faithful allies of *Rome*. See 21. 20, 7-8.

§ 6. *utuntur*, sc. *Hispani*.

§ 7. *Inde*, 'From one of these.'

*nondum . . . aperientibus classem*. *Livy* says that the promontories 'did not yet reveal the fleet,' meaning that they still concealed it.

§ 8. *classem Romanam*. Supply 'saying that.'

§ 10. *resolutis oris . . . evehuntur*. See *Smith's Latin Dictionary* s. vv. 'eveho' and 'ora.'

§ 12. *adversus* had best be left untranslated. *Church and Brodribb* give 'in their rear.'

*haud sane intrabile*, lit. 'not so *very* easy to enter.' Translate, 'and since it was no easy matter for such a broad column,' &c.

**Chap.  
20.**

§ 1. *hostium erat*, 'was in the power of the enemy.'

*armatamque aciem*, &c. reads like the '*disiecti membra poetae*,' whom we may fancy to have written '*armatamque aciem praetentam litore toto Cernebant*.' This tendency to run into metre is by no means uncommon in animated descriptions by *Roman* prose writers. See 50. 10.



§ 2. *puppibus*. Ablative, 'by their sterns.'

§ 3. *Neque id pulcherrimum*, &c. Cf. our colloquial expression, 'And that wasn't the finest thing about the victory.'

§ 5. *iniuncta*, 'adjoining.'

§ 6. *ad rem nauticam*, i.e. for ropes.

*sublato*, understand 'hoc' as the antecedent to 'quod.'

§ 7. *Ebusum insulam*. The modern 'Iviza.' We reckon it as one of the Balearic islands; the ancients placed it and *Colubraria* in a group by themselves, which they called *Pityussae* (*Πιτυούσσαι*), 'the Pine Islands.'

§§ 7-9. *Ibi urbe*, &c. Observe the various ways in which temporal clauses can be expressed in Latin. We have here (i.) ablative absolute, 'urbe . . . oppugnata;' (ii.) 'ubi' with the perfect indicative; (iii.) passive (or rather middle) participle ('*versi*') agreeing with the subject of 'recepissent;' (iv.) ablative absolute again, '*direptis* . . . *vicis*;' and lastly (v.), 'quum' with the pluperfect subjunctive. The ablative absolute '*maiore* . . . *praeda parta*' belongs in sense too closely to 'in naves se recepissent' to be regarded as a separate temporal clause in relation to the apodosis '*ex Baliaribus insulis legati* . . . *venerunt*.'

§ 11. *populi*, 'tribes.' Notice that '*amplius*' here does not affect the structure of the rest of the sentence.

§ 12. *saltum Castulonensem*. The Sierra Morena, at the North of Andalusia. *Castulo* itself lay to the south of the '*saltus*.' It is mentioned in 24. 41. 7 as '*urbs Hispaniae valida ac nobilis et adeo coniuncta societate Poenis, ut uxor inde Hannibali esset*.'

*Lusitaniam*. This corresponds, roughly speaking, to Portugal.

*Oceanum*. The Atlantic.

§ 1. *per Poenum hostem*, as far as the Carthaginians were concerned. Chap. 21.

§ 2. *qui* refers to '*Indibilis*.'

§ 3. *pacatum*, 'peaceful.'

§ 4. *ut tumultuariam manum* ('as might be expected in fighting with so undisciplined a force') explains '*levi*.'

*fudere*, understand '*eos*.'

*armis exuta*. This expression, as in 21. 61. 9, means that the men threw away their arms in order the better to save themselves by flight.

§ 6. *Ilergavonensium*. These people are supposed to have lived near the coast, and just to the South of the Ebro.

§ 1. *prorogato post consulatum*. He was 'pro consule,' not 'consul.' This extension of the term of command was at this date exceptional, though not unprecedented. Chap. 22.

**Chap.** § 2. *tenuit*, 'reached.'

**22.** § 5. *ne sanguine*, &c. This clause explains how the '*pignus*' prevented the Spaniards from going over to Rome. We must supply in thought some such words as 'for they feared,' on which the '*ne*' clause may depend.

§ 6. *sollerti magis quam fideli*. The sentence is ironical. Livy does not mean to suggest the slightest doubt of *Abelux*' perfidy.

*qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia*. To make this strictly grammatical, we must supply '*tali ingenio*' in the sentence '*cum fortuna mutaverat fidem*.'

*cum fortuna*, &c. 'when fortune changed he had transferred his allegiance.'

§ 7. *id agebat, ut*. Not an uncommon Latin expression: 'He made it his object to.'

*maximum emolumentum* is the complement, not the subject, of the sentence.

§ 8. *potestatis eius*. N. B. not '*suae*,' which would mean 'in Fortune's power.'

*conciliaturam*, 'would win.'

§ 11. *metum* is the subject of its sentence, and '*animos*' the object. *cis*. Of course from a Carthaginian point of view.

*non teneat* represents the '*non tenet*' of *oratio recta*. Notice that the *oratio obliqua* depending on '*monet*' passes, like that in 21. 30, from primary to historic tenses and back again. That '*continuisse*' is as much historic as '*abessent*' is shown by the use of '*eam diem*' instead of '*hanc diem*.'

§ 13. '*quorum maximum*,' &c. 'whose influence in their own states is very great.'

§ 15. *non ad cetera Punica*, &c. 'who was by no means as cunning as most Carthaginians' (lit. who was not cunning in comparison with other Carthaginian intellects). Polybius (3. 98) describes Bostar as being of an innocent and mild disposition (*ἀκακὸν ὄντα τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πρᾶον τῇ φύσει*).

§ 17. *cum iis*, with the Romans. The words belong to '*compositam*.'

*excitatis custodibus puerorum*, 'after awaking the men who had charge of the boys.'

§ 18. *acta per eundem ordinem*, &c. 'were done in exactly the same way as (they would have been done) if they had been done in the name of the Carthaginians,' i.e. the whole programme of restoring the hostages was carried out as designed, with the sole exception that they were restored in the name of the Romans instead of in that of the Carthaginians.

§ 19. *futura . . . fuerat*. This is rather more than a periphrasis for

'fuisset' and means 'had been going to be' (from the point of view of Abelux' suggestions to Bostar). Still we must translate it 'would have been.' **Chap. 22.**

*videri poterat*, 'might have seemed.'

§ 20. *et Abelux*, &c. 'Et' introduces a new reason: 'besides they thought that a cautious man like Abelux must have had good reason for changing sides,' (or 'would not have changed sides without good reason').

§ 2. *sollicitum . . . habebat*, 'constantly troubled.'

*militiae magistrum*, 'director of their military operations.'

**Chap. 23.**

§ 3. *ita*, ('yet') answers to the 'ut' ('though') in § 2.

*contempta erat*, &c. 'was treated with equal scorn in the camp and in the city.'

*utique*, 'especially.'

*laeto verius dixerim*, &c. 'with an issue which should be called successful rather than fortunate.'

§ 4. *una*. Notice that this is here put for 'altera,' as in a modern language.

*fraude ac dolo Hannibalis*. For this trick, cf. Thucydides, 2. 13, where Pericles is said to have suspected that Archidamus would leave his property unravaged, either because he was Pericles' personal friend, or for the sinister motive of bringing him into suspicion with the Athenians (*ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ*), on which passage Grote quotes Tacitus, Hist. 5. 23 'Cerialis, insulam Batavorum hostiliter populatus, agros villasque Civilis intactos *nota arte ducum* sinebat.'

*ea*. 'Attracted' into the gender of 'merces.'

§ 5. *in maximam laudem*, 'to his great glory.'

§ 6. *convenerat*, 'an agreement had been made.'

*argenti pondo bina et selibras*, &c. 'two pounds and a half of silver for every soldier.' For 'pondo,' which is here regarded as a neuter plural, see note on 21. 62. 8 ('auri pondo quadraginta').

§ 7. *tardius erogaretur*, 'was not voted soon enough.'

§ 8. *fidemque publicam*, &c. 'Thus at his own expense discharging a national obligation.'

§ 9. *cuius urbis captae atque incensae*. This does not at all agree with the account of Gereonium in 18. 7. Polybius says that Hannibal took Gereonium, but left the walls and most of the houses standing.

*in usum horreorum*, to serve as magazines.

§ 10. *cum tertia ipse*, &c. 'he himself kept watch (in statione erat) with the remainder, which was ready for action.'

*et circumspectans*. Here we have another instance of 'et' coupling words of unlike construction.

**Chap.  
24.**

§ 1. *Larinati*. Larinum was about ten miles North of Gereonium.

§ 2. *Ceterum*. 'Besides.'

*agitabanturque*. '*Agitare*' means literally 'to set going.'

*pro*, 'as might be expected from,' 'in accordance with.'

*ut impetus . . . fieret*, '(the more adventurous plan) of making an attack,' &c.

§ 4. *quum*, 'although.' The clause introduced by '*quum*' qualifies the '*dimisit*'—not the '*crederet*'—clause.

§ 5. *propius hostem*, see on 21. 1. 2 '*propius periculum*.'

§ 6. *ei*, i. e. '*hosti*.'

*ad quem capiendum*, '*quem*' is equivalent to '*et eum*;' but the '*et*' thus contained in the word has no special connection with the clause in which it occurs. Livy is fond of such harsh inversions. The whole sentence, if arranged naturally, would be '*et, quia, si ad eum capiendum luce palam iretur, haud dubie hostis . . . praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi*,' &c.

*praeventurus erat*. Here again the pluperfect subjunctive would not have served Livy's turn (see 22. 19, note). Hannibal knew that the enemy *meant to occupy* the hill if they saw him make any attempt on it. The periphrasis '*praeventurus erat*' has, however, a conditional force. Cf. '*tutari poterat*' in § 9.

§ 8. [*Tum ut*] must certainly be omitted.

*compleverat*. By the use of the pluperfect tense, and the word '*acies*,' Livy tells us that the Romans marched out of their camp and formed in order of battle.

*per aversa a castris*, &c. Lit. 'though the (places) remote from Hannibal's camp,' i. e. 'from the side which was furthest from Hannibal's camp.'

§ 9. *tutari poterat*. Perhaps the indicative is used, because the statement 'Hannibal could hardly defend his camp,' is really unconditioned, '*si oppugnarentur*' being added as an afterthought. His inability to defend the camp was a fact; it could only be shown if the camp were attacked. But from another point of view, it may be said that '*poterat*,' is here used like our '*could*,' in a strictly auxiliary sense.

§ 12. *Hunc principem*. These words are the subject of '*praebuisse*,' the oratio obliqua (depending on '*quidam auctores sunt*' in § 11) being continued to the end of the chapter. '*Principem*' means 'the first man.'

§ 13. *duo castella*. Of the Carthaginians.

**Chap  
25.**

§ 1. *in contione*, 'in public meetings.'

§ 2. *ut vera omnia essent*, 'granted that all were true.'

§ 3. *id enimvero ferendum*, &c. 'said that it was really not to be endured that,' &c.

§ 4. *sedulo*, 'on purpose.'

§ 5. *Quippe*, corresponding to the 'why' of our colloquial rhetoric, can hardly be translated here.

*alterum . . . ablegatum*. See II. 7.

§ 6. *duos praetores*. T. Otacilius Crassus and A. Cornelius Mamula.

§ 7. *agrum suum tutante*. This is said because Hannibal had left Fabius' estate untouched (23. 4).

§ 8. *clausos prope intra vallum retentos*, 'had been kept almost shut up within their entrenchments.'

§ 9. *ut . . . ut*. The first 'ut' means 'when,' the second 'as if.'

§ 10. *modicam rogationem*, 'a moderate bill.' It was in reality a most preposterous one. The chief advantage of the dictatorship was the avoidance of divided command in times of emergency.

*iure*, 'power.'

§ 11. *Nec tamen ne ita quidem*. The negatives here do not cancel, but intensify each other.

*suffecisset*. This is the regular word for appointing a consul to hold office for part of a year in the room of one who had died, and a consul so appointed was called 'consul suffectus.' N. B. Where Livy speaks of one consul 'appointing' another, he must be understood to mean 'holding the comitia for his election.' All the ordinary magistrates of the people were elected by the people. The extraordinary supreme magistrate (the dictator) was, on the other hand, not elected by the people, but nominated by one of the consuls. See note on 8. 5.

§ 12. *contionibus*. Here the word means 'public speeches.'

*in actione minime populari*, 'since the people were by no means inclined to side with him;' lit. 'being (engaged) in a by no means popular course of action,' viz. in opposing the tribune's bill.

*quum hostem verbis extolleret*. It is interesting to notice that Livy's dislike of Hannibal seems to give way gradually to admiration in the course of the history.

*acceptas referret*. Constructed with the dative this phrase would have its ordinary sense of 'set down to the credit of,' a metaphor from book-keeping. But it cannot mean this as constructed with 'per,' and so we must translate 'maintained that the defeats of the last two years had been incurred through the rashness,' &c. Livy may have had the other meaning of the words in his mind.

§ 15. *in tempore*, 'in a time of emergency.'

§ 16. *ne praesens de iure*, &c. 'so as not to have to struggle for his rights on the spot.'

*rogationis ferendae dies*, 'the day fixed for proposing the bill.'

§ 17. *plebis concilium*. There could be no 'comitia' of the plebs,

**Chap. 25.** but only of the whole people. Nevertheless a 'plebiscitum' had the force of law, and it was by a 'plebiscitum' that Minucius' 'imperium' was to be made equal to that of Fabius. No *law* ('lex') to this effect could possibly have been passed, for Fabius could have forbidden any magistrate of the people to bring a bill before them.

*ad suadendum.* This depends on 'prodire,' which depends on 'audebant.'

*vulgo* is here the dative of 'vulgus.'

*favore superante*, &c. 'though the bill had plenty of partisans, people were backward in openly seconding it.'

§ 18. *loco non humili*, &c. 'a man of not merely undistinguished, but actually low origin.'

§ 19. *ipsum institorem mercis*, ('himself the retailer of his goods,' i. e.) 'who kept a retail shop;' which our courtly author naturally considers an aggravation of Varro's low character.

**Chap. 26.** § 1. *liberalioris fortunæ*, 'of a more honourable career.'  
*togaque et forum* means 'the profession of an advocate.' Varro, while still a tradesman, would have worn a 'tunica.' For 'toga,' cf. the expression 'his cloth' as used to indicate a clergyman's profession; and for 'forum,' cf. 'the bar' as used to indicate a barrister's.

§ 2. *proclamando*, 'by bawling.'

*adversus rem et famam bonorum*, 'against the reputation and fortunes of respectable citizens,' who, it is implied, ought always to obtain a favourable decision in a court of law, while the 'sordidi homines' ought as certainly to have the decision given against them. It is not difficult to see with what class in the republic Livy sympathizes, and we must be no less cautious in believing all he tells us about Varro and Flaminius, than in adopting his judgment on the character of Hannibal.

*honores*, 'offices.' A Roman, if he wished to become consul, had to work his way upwards from serving on the 'vigintiviratus' through the quaestorship, aedileship, and praetorship. Only in extraordinary cases was anyone who had not been praetor allowed to stand for the consulship. It was not usual for a Roman to hold both aedileships, and only a plebeian could possibly do so.

§ 4. *scitique plebis*. The ordinary form is 'plebiscitum' or 'plebeiscitum,' as in 30. 4.

**Chap. 27.** § 2. *non Hannibale magis*, 'boasted quite as much of his victory over Fabius as of that over Hannibal.'

§ 3. *parem . . . Hannibali*, 'a match for Hannibal.'

§ 4. *tantum* introduces the reason that Minucius gives for his preceding reflections.

*deorum hominumque*. Heaven had condemned Fabius' strategy

by giving the victory to Minucius, who acted on the opposite plan, and men had condemned it by passing the 'plebiscitum.'

**Chap.  
27.**

§ 6. *se optimum ducere*, &c. 'he thought it best that they should be in command on alternate days, or, if that was thought too short a time, during alternate periods, each being absolute and supreme in turn.'

§ 8. *sibi communicatum cum illo*, &c. 'he had been forced to share his command with Minucius, but he had not been deprived of it altogether.'

§ 9. *qua posset*, i. e. 'non cedere.'

*consilio*, 'with prudence.'

*exercitum*. Supply 'sed.'

§ 10. *evenerunt* implies that they cast lots for them.

§ 11. *sociumque* for 'sociorumque.'

§ 1. *eum fallebat*, 'escaped his notice.'

**Chap.  
28.**

§ 2. *nam et liberam*, &c. 'for he knew that he would be able to lay one of his traps for the rash Minucius, whereas the crafty Fabius had lost half of his strength.'

§ 3. *locum*, 'position.'

§ 5. *non modo*, as is often the case, stands for 'non modo non.'

*vestitum* agrees with 'quicquam,' to be supplied from the sentence before.

§ 6. *re ipsa natus*, &c. 'but in reality perfectly adapted for concealing an ambuscade.'

*anfractibus*. The windings of the valley.

*ut*, 'of such size that.'

*ducenos*. Notice the use of the distributive.

§ 7. *In has latebras*. The accusative is used because the word 'conduntur' implies motion. Still it is perfectly good Latin to write 'condo me in silva.'

*quot quemque locum*, &c. is a condensed expression for 'tot in quemque locum, quot eum locum apte insidere poterant,' where 'tot' would be in agreement with the 'pedites equitesque' implied in 'quinque millia peditum equitumque.'

§ 8. *avertit*. Sc. Hannibal.

§ 9. *ad arma vocat*, &c. Here we have again, as in 20. 1, a suggestion of metre, e. g.

'Ad arma

*Ipse vocat vanisque minis dux increpat hostem.'*

§ 11. *iam iustam expleverat aciem*, 'had at last mustered his army in full strength.'

§ 12. *succedens*, 'trying to scale,' but

*succedentem*, 'following in their rear.'

**Chap. 28.** § 13. *si iusta ac directa*, &c. 'if the battle were to be of a regular and straightforward kind.'

*haudquaquam impar futura*, 'likely to be quite a match for the enemy.'

*ante paucos dies*, 'a few days before.' 'Ante' is an adverb here, and 'paucos dies' the accusative of duration of time.

**Chap. 29.** § 1. *Ita est*. 'Yes' (in the sense of 'It is just as I thought').

*deprendit fortuna temeritatem*. Cf. what Livy has said of Fabius, 'nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus.' Chance was to be eliminated, Fabius thought. Minucius had not done this, and chance had caught him. Translate, 'fortune has seized the opening that rashness has given.'

§ 3. *magna ex parte* belongs to the second '*aliis*' as much as to the first, and makes them both mean 'many.'

§ 5. *plures simul* is contrasted with '*vage dissipati*.'  
*volventes . . . orbem*, 'forming circle' (our 'square').

§ 6. *palam ferente*, 'openly declaring.'

§ 8. *eum primum esse virum*, &c. is a translation of Hesiod, Works and Days, 293, foll. :—

*οὔτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ,  
ἔσθλός δ' αὖ κακείνος, ὃς εὔ ἐπόντι πίθηται·  
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ·*

which speaks well for the education of Minucius, if the reader can believe that he really said it. The passage from Hesiod is given in this note as quoted by Aristotle in Ethics, I. 4. 7.

*extremi ingenii*, 'of the feeblest capacity of all.'

§ 9. *in animum inducamus*, 'let us make it our principle.'

§ 10. *dignum*, 'befitting.'

§ 11. *patronos*, 'by the name of "protectors"' ('authors of your freedom,' Church and Brodribb).

*certe*, 'at any rate,' 'at least.'

**Chap. 30.** § 1. *conclamatur*, 'the word was given.'

*vasa*, in the military sense, is everything which the soldier had to carry on the march.

§ 2. *tribunali*, i. e. that of Fabius.

*circumfusus . . . militum eius* means those of Fabius' soldiers who had thronged round the new comers.

*totum agmen* means the whole of Minucius' division.

§ 3. *modo*, 'just now.'

*quod fando possum*, 'and I can say no more than that.'

§ 4. *quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus*. All such



translations as 'which has been onerous rather than honourable to me' **Chap. 30.** must be carefully avoided. No English pun can represent Minucius' (or rather Livy's) solemn play upon words. Translate, 'which has given me a burden rather than an honour.'

**antiquo abrogoque**, 'I reject and cancel.' Not a mere tautology, though really an impossible combination, 'antiquo' being applicable to a bill, 'abrogo' to a law.

**exercitibusque his tuis**. Minucius means that both armies (which he specifies severally as 'servato' and 'conservatori') were now Fabius'.

§ 5. **hos ordines suos quemque**. 'Hos' is the subject, 'ordines' the object of 'tenere,' and 'quemque' explains 'hos.' 'Suum quemque' would be more natural and usual. But see 21. 48. 2 'in civitates quemque suas,' and 23. 22. 3 'sui quemque casus.'

§ 6. **laetusque dies**, &c. 'and a day so lately one of melancholy and almost disastrous failure, was changed to one of rejoicing.'

§ 9. **a patribus**. The reader will recollect that more than twenty years elapsed between the First and Second Punic Wars.

§ 1. **utrinque**. Both from Sardinia and Corsica.

§ 2. **Menige**. The island of Meninx, or, as Livy has it, of Menix, lies near the south, as Cercina lies near the north, of the little Syrtis. **Chap. 31.**

§ 3. **ducti** is probably a participle and 'effusi' the finite verb.

**iuxta . . . ac si**, 'just as if.'

**cultorum egentibus**, 'uninhabited.'

§ 4. **temere**, 'carelessly.'

§ 5. **Ad mille hominum**. It is more probable that this forms one indeclinable expression, '(men) towards the number of one thousand men,' with which 'amissis' (understood from 'amisso') agrees, than that 'ad' is here an adverb, and 'mille' the ablative case, for the substantive 'mille' is not used in any other case but the nom. and acc. unless in combination with 'millia' in the same case, as in 21. 61. 1 'cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum.'

§ 7. **freto**. Of Messina.

**et ipse et collega eius**, 'as was also his colleague.'

**semestri imperio**. Six months was fixed by law as the maximum duration of a dictator's office.

§ 9. **fugit**, 'it has escaped the notice of,' i. e. 'Caelius and the other historians have failed to notice.'

**uni**, 'only.' 'That only the consul Cn. Servilius . . . had the power to nominate a dictator.'

§ 10. **quam moram** means the delay of sending to Servilius.

**qui pro dictatore esset**, 'an officer to act as pro-dictator.'

§ 11. **et augentes titulum**, &c. Lit. 'and descendants who ampli-

**Chap. 31.** fixed the title on his bust,' i. e. 'and the wish of his descendants to inscribe the higher title on his bust.' The hall of a noble Roman was adorned with the busts of his ancestors, his family portraits, as it were, and these busts would be carried in procession at his funeral. Only 'nobiles' had the 'ius imaginum' or right to possess these 'imagines.' Under the busts were written the 'tituli' of the deceased. In the case of Fabius, Livy suggests, his descendants may have written 'dictator' where they should have written 'pro dictatore.'

*obtinuisse*, 'brought it about.' The *oratio obliqua* in the last two sections of the chapter depends on 'fugit' in § 9.

**Chap. 32.** § 1. *Consules, &c.* They would now resume their power, which had been in abeyance during Fabius' term of office.

*Geminus Servilius.* An inversion. His full name was Gnaeus Servilius Geminus; see last chapter. In 21. 57. 4 he is called Gnaeus Servilius, which would be the most usual way of describing him.

§ 2. *Frumentatum exeunti, &c.* 'When Hannibal made foraging excursions they would seize their opportunity to attack him at various points, annoying his column on the march and cutting off stragglers.'

*in casum . . . non veniebant*, 'they would not risk (a general engagement).'

§ 3. *nisi cum fugae specie, &c.* 'but for the fact that his retreat would have looked like flight.'

*insequentes consules*, 'next year's consuls.'

§ 4. *ita verba facta, ut dicerent* is a very pleonastic way of saying 'they said.'

§ 5. *iuxta . . . ac*, 'just as much . . . as.'

§ 6. *subsidium fortunae*, 'a reserve fund.' For this view of gold offerings in temples cf. Thucydides, 2. 13. 4, where Pericles is said, in pointing out to the Athenians their resources for the war against the Peloponnesians, to have told them that 'there was uncoined gold and silver in the form of private and public offerings, sacred vessels used in processions and games, the Persian spoil, and other things of the like nature, worth at least five hundred talents more. There was also at their disposal, besides what they had in the Acropolis, considerable treasures in various temples. If they were reduced to the last extremity they could even take off the plates of gold with which the image of the goddess<sup>1</sup> was overlaid.' (Prof. Jowett's translation.)

§ 7. *in sese*, 'in their power.'

§§ 7, 8. *duxissent . . . iudicaverint.* Livy, as we have already seen, uses his tenses somewhat loosely in *oratio obliqua*.

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<sup>1</sup> Athene.

§ 8. *dignosque iudicaverint ab quibus . . . acciperent*, ‘and should think fit to accept from them.’ **Chap. 32.**

*quam re*, ‘than in its intrinsic worth.’

§ 9. *quae ponderis minimi fuit*, i. e. the smallest of those which the Neapolitans offered.

§ 1. *speculator Carthaginiensis*. This gives us a hint as to how Hannibal was kept so well informed about the character of the several commanders opposed to him. No doubt he had other spies who escaped detection altogether. **Chap. 33.**

*praecisis . . . manibus*. This seems a very cruel action in a civilised European nation. We find no instances of such mutilation in the most bloody scenes of the Peloponnesian war. Yet a Roman spy at Carthage would have met with treatment at least as cruel, and possibly the spy may have thought himself lucky to escape with his life, which according to the rules of war his captors would have had every right to take. However the unhappy man must soon have died, unless he could find some one to take care of him.

§ 2. *quod in campo Martio coniurassent*. They were crucified for having made a conspiracy, not for having made it in the Campus Martius.

*aeris gravis* means ‘of the old heavy “ases.”’ See note on 10. 7.

§ 3. *Demetrium Pharium*. Pharos was an island off the Dalmatian coast. Demetrius had gone over from the service of the queen regent Teuta to that of the Romans, and had been rewarded with the regency over Illyria and the adjacent islands. However, when he knew that Hannibal was preparing to attack Italy, he turned against the Romans and began to attack their allies. He was conquered in B.C. 219, by the consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus and took refuge at the court of Macedon.

§ 4. *opibus* means ‘money,’ *auxiliis* ‘troops.’

§ 5. *Pineum . . . regem*. He was the son of Teuta, who was regent for him during his minority, as Demetrius was afterwards. Pineus was allowed to reign in Illyria as tributary king after the defeat of Demetrius.

§ 6. *terrarum*, ‘in the world.’ Partitive genitive after ‘*usquam*.’

§ 7. *In religionem etiam venit*. ‘They further remembered as a point of ceremonial that,’ &c.

*per seditionem*, ‘on the occasion of a mutiny.’ Of this mutiny nothing is known.

*biennio ante*. Manlius was praetor in Cisalpine Gaul one year before this (see 21. 17. 7 and 25. 8), but, as Capes points out, Livy here reckons inclusively.

**Chap. 33.** *locatam.* 'Locare aedem faciendam' is to let out the building of a temple to some one who contracts to perform it.

§ 9. *ex*, 'in accordance with.'

*ad consules creandos.* This, as has been already remarked, means 'to preside at the consular elections.'

*se in eam diem*, &c. 'adding that he would announce the election for the day that they should appoint.'

§ 10. *per interregem.* The 'interrex' could exist only when there was no consul, i.e. when the year of office had gone by without the election of new consuls. The 'dictator comitiorum habendorum causa' was (like a dictator 'rei gerendae causa') nominated by one of the consuls. Hence the senate's decision would have saved more time than the expedient suggested by the consuls, had not the dictator been 'vitio creatus.'

§ 11. *magistrum equitum.* The 'magister equitum' to a dictator appointed to hold the comitia would *a fortiori* have no military authority.

§ 12. *vitio creatis.* The 'vitium' would be some flaw in the religious ceremonies attending their appointment. Such 'vitia' were often of an imaginary nature, even from a Roman point of view. See Flaminius' views on the subject, as given in 21. 63. 5.

**Chap. 34.** § 1. *prorogatum in annum imperium.* This would mean that they were made proconsuls. However, Polybius says that they were made praetors.

*proditi sunt a patribus*, 'were appointed by the patricians.' The 'interrex' had to be a patrician, and he was elected by the patrician senators. It is possible therefore that the consuls may, as is suggested in 34. 9-10, have had some party reason for wishing the 'comitia' to be held by an 'interrex,' especially as a contested election was anticipated.

**C. Claudius App. filius Cento.** 'Caius Claudius Cento, son of Appius Claudius.'

*patrum ac plebis.* These terms are here metaphorical, if not inaccurate. The contest was now no longer between patricians and plebeians, but between the 'nobiles' (those whose ancestors had held curule offices), whether patrician or plebeian, and those who were not 'nobiles.' On the other hand, the patricians among the 'nobiles' may have looked upon the struggle to exclude 'novi homines' from the ranks of the nobility as a struggle against plebeians as such, for certainly all 'novi homines' would be plebeians, though many plebeians were 'nobiles.'

§ 2. *sui* refers to 'vulgus' below.

*popularibusque artibus*, 'by the arts of a demagogue.'

**ab Q. Fabii opibus, &c.** 'popular through another's unpopularity,' the result of his damaging machinations against the position and dictatorial authority of Quintus Fabius. **Chap. 34.**

§ 3. **prohibuissent.** By deciding that he was 'vitio creatus.' Of course the dictator here alluded to is the L. Veturius Philo mentioned in the last chapter.

**conciliabat,** 'was trying to win.'

§ 4. **debellari** is here impersonal, 'when the war might be finished.'

§ 5. **universis,** 'together.'

**apparuisset,** 'it had been clearly proved.' The argument in this section is as follows. In Fabius' absence Minucius with all four legions was successful over Hannibal. Fabius separated the army into two divisions, so as to let Minucius be worsted and then get the credit of having rescued him.

§ 7. **hominem novum.** This means a man who is the first of his family to hold curule office. He would not be 'ignobilis,' nor would he be 'nobilis,' but his descendants would be 'nobiles,' so that he would come into the circle of noble families as a 'new man.'

§ 8. **eisdem initiatos . . . sacris,** 'initiated in the same mysteries.' Metaphorical.

§ 9. **Cui non apparere;** 'Was there a man to whom it was not clear that an interregnum had been brought about and contrived, in order that the 'comitia' should be in the hands of the patricians?'

The first 'ut' is explanatory (*that*), the second final (*in order that*).

**in patrum potestate,** 'in the power of the patricians.' Because, as was observed above, the interrex was a patrician and elected by patricians.

§ 10. **ambos . . . morando,** 'by both staying.' If *one* had returned he could have held the 'comitia.' For the loose construction of 'ambos' with the gerund see Excursus, pp. xix, xx.

**id postea.** This second 'id,' if it is to correspond to its predecessor in this sentence, can be made logical only by regarding 'expugnatum-esse-ut-vitiosus-dictator-per-augures-fieret' as one verb.

§ 11. **consulatum unum.** It had been enacted by the 'Licinian Rogations' in B.C. 367 that one of the consuls must always be a plebeian.

§ 2. **duobus nobilibus iam,** 'two men noble by birth.' Livy adds 'iam' to show that the ancestors of Serranus and Paetus had held curule office. However, had it been otherwise they would not have been strictly 'nobiles.' **Chap. 35.**

**ut,** 'so that.'

**in manu eius,** 'in his power.' The presiding officer had considerable influence over the result of an election.

**rogando,** lit. 'for proposing,' i. e. 'for electing.'

**Chap.** § 3. *prope ambustus*, 'half ruined' (Church and Brodribb). M.  
**35.** Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus were consuls in B.C. 219. After the capture of Pharos they were accused of embezzling the spoil, and Livius had been found guilty.

§ 4. *par magis*, &c. 'was appointed as a match to thwart the consul, rather than as his colleague.'

§ 5. *Philo Romae iuri dicundo*, &c. i. e. he was 'praetor urbanus,' while Pomponius was 'praetor peregrinus.' 'Romae iuri dicundo sors' belongs to both clauses, while 'urbana' in the first is contrasted with 'inter cives Romanos et peregrinos' in the second.

§ 6. *additi duo praetores*. Simply, 'two other praetors were elected.' Livy does not mean that there was any innovation; there had been four praetors ever since B.C. 227.

**Chap.** § 1. *satis certum*, 'with certainty.'

**36.** § 2. *alii*. The predicate to this is 'auctores sunt' at the end of the next section.

*ut octo legionibus rem gererent*. Polybius (3. 107) tells us that the Romans on this occasion took the field with eight legions each 5000 strong. Also that a legion consisted ordinarily of 4000 foot and 200 horse, but in times of emergency (such as the present) of 5000 foot and 300 horse. As a rule each consul had two legions together with a force of allied infantry equal to the number of his legionaries, and of allied cavalry treble the number of his Roman troopers. But probably the allied cavalry was never more than 600 strong in each legion, so that the whole cavalry of a legion—Romans and allies together—was never more than 900 strong.

§ 3. *millibus* is here equivalent to 'singulis millibus.'

§ 4. *septem et octoginta millia . . . et ducentos*. According to the estimate given in § 3 there would have been in every legion 5300 Romans (5000 foot and 300 horse) with a complement of 5600 allies (5000 foot and 600 horse), making a total of 10,900 for each legion. This (which agrees with Polybius' estimate, according to the explanation given at the end of the note on § 2), when multiplied by eight, gives 87,200. This then was probably the exact number of the army as originally levied, though a somewhat smaller number—at any rate of cavalry—fought at Cannae.

§ 5. *Illud haudquaquam discrepat*. 'There is no question as to the fact.'

§ 8. *etiam . . . magis terrebat*, 'was still more alarming' (than the rest).

*in via fornicata*, &c. 'in the colonnade which used to lead to the Campus Martius.'

*de caelo tacti*, 'struck by lightning.'

§ 9. *sicut Neapolitanis*. See 32. 4-9.

§ 1. **Hierone.** Hiero, king of Syracuse, had been a faithful ally of the Romans, ever since he had gone over to their side in the First Punic War. **Chap. 37.**

§ 3. **probe sciat.** Cf. the provincial expression, 'I don't rightly know.'

**admirabiliorem prope adversis, &c.** Of course 'prope' is adverbial and qualifies 'admirabiliorem.' The reader of Horace will remember the sentiments about the Romans which the poet puts into the mouth of Hannibal (Odes, 4. 4. 53-68).

§ 5. **pondo ducentum ac viginti,** 'of two hundred and twenty pounds weight.' 'Ducentum' stands for 'ducentorum,' which agrees with the indeclinable 'pondo,' here a genitive plural.

**sese** refers to Hiero's envoys though they have hitherto spoken in Hiero's person. 'Acciperent . . . perpetuam' represents Hiero's own words. Then § 6 is spoken in the person of the envoys, and the rest of the speech is that of Hiero.

§ 6. **modium** for 'modiorum.'

§ 7. **milite** here means 'foot-soldier,' i. e. 'infantry.'

**levium armorum auxilia.** Light-armed troops are regarded by Hiero as being neither cavalry nor infantry.

**etiam externa,** i. e. 'not even Italian.'

§ 8. **pugnaces,** 'who fight with.'

§ 9. **minus . . . laxamenti,** 'less leisure.'

§ 11. **et,** 'also.' The word emphasizes 'civitatus' ('by some states as well as by king Hiero'). The 'civitates' in question were Naples and Paestum.

§ 12. **dare dicare.** Notice the asyndeton, so common in these formulae.

**templum,** 'the sanctuary.'

§ 1. **dum,** 'until.'

§ 3. **sacramentum.** The ordinary oath of obedience to the 'imperator.' **Chap. 38.**

**ad decuriandum aut centuriandum,** 'to be formed into their tens of horse or centuries of foot.'

§ 4. **ergo.** An archaic word. Doubtless we have here the words of the oath translated into oratio obliqua.

**sumendi aut petendi.** To take a fresh 'pilum' from the rear, or fetch from the front one already hurled. Accordingly 'recessuros,' above must be taken in a rather wide sense.

**civis,** 'a comrade.'

§ 5. **ad tribunos ac, &c.** A hendiadys.  
**legitimam,** 'formal.'

§ 7. **haberet.** Sc. 'res publica.'

**Chap.  
38.**

perfecturum, 'would finish it' (the war).

§ 9. quod ne should be omitted.

qui, 'how.'

togatus, 'while still a civilian.'

§ 12. ad id locorum, 'up to the present time.'

§ 13. id, 'in that course.' 'Perseveraret' is transitive here.

**Chap.  
39.**

§ 1. id quod mallet, 'as I should prefer.'

§ 2. duo boni consules. Translate this 'if you were both good consuls,' and 'mali' (below) 'if you were both bad consuls.'

etiam me indicente, 'without any words of mine.' 'Indicens' for 'non dicens' is very rare.

e re publica fideque vestra, 'in accordance with the interests of the state and the dictates of your own consciences.'

§ 3. Nunc. 'But as things are.'

collegam tuum et te, &c. 'when I look upon your colleague and upon a man like you.'

claudente. Some readers may find a dictionary useful here. The word does not mean 'shutting.'

idem . . . iuris et potestatis, 'as much authority and force.'

§ 4. nescio an, 'I rather think.'

hic adversarius. Terentius.

§ 6. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit. 'For good luck's sake among other reasons I would have you forget C. Flaminius.'

priusquam peteret. The subjunctive here (and in 'videat' below) adds a concessive sense to 'priusquam,' 'although he was not yet standing for.' Still we cannot translate it otherwise than 'before he stood for.'

nunc quoque consul, 'and now too, when he *is* consul.'

§ 8. aut nobilior, &c. 'or some other place will be made more famous by a defeat of ours than ever Lake Trasimenus was.'

§ 9. adversus unum, probably means 'to one man.'

potius . . . modum excesserim, 'I would rather go too far.'

una ratio, &c. 'the only plan of carrying on war with Hannibal is the one which I followed.'

§ 10. sed eadem ratio, sc. 'hoc docet.' The words mean 'but that same consideration.' Notice the different senses of the word 'ratio' in this section and the last.

quae fuit futuraque, &c. 'which was and always will be unchanged, as long as the conditions remain the same.'

§ 12. id is here equivalent to 'tantum.'

fidei documentum, 'proof of their loyalty.'

tempus diesque, 'lapse of time.'

§ 13. in diem is, say the commentators, to be taken with 'rpto.'



§ 14. *partem vix tertiam*. This is in one sense no exaggeration. Hannibal entered Italy with 20,000 foot and 6000 horse, in all 26,000 men. He must have lost many of these in his battles especially at Lake Trasimenus, and many in the marshes of Etruria, in which case he would now have decidedly less than a third left of the actual 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse with which he crossed the Ebro. But Fabius is forgetting that he had been strengthened by Gallic and Ligurian reinforcements, which had brought up his strength to more than 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse, for such were the numbers that fought at Cannae.

*suppeditat*. Intransitive.

§ 15. *sedendo*, 'by sitting still.'

*senescat in dies*, 'grows weaker day by day.'

*supplementum*, 'means of recruiting' or 'means of getting reinforcements.'

§ 16. *Gereonii, castelli Apuliae*. It has already been pointed out that Gereonium was, strictly speaking, not in Apulia, but in the country of the Frentani.

§ 17. *adversus te*; cf. '*adversus unum*,' § 9.

*proximi consules*, 'last year's consuls.'

*difficilem infestamque*, 'full of difficulty and danger.'

§ 18. *Resistes autem*, 'And you will hold out.'

*gloria*, 'ambition.'

*falsa*, 'undeserved.'

§ 19. *Veritatem laborare, &c.* 'There is a saying that the light of truth is only too often eclipsed, but that it can never be put out.' '*Luna laborat*' means 'the moon is eclipsed.'

§ 20. *timidum pro cauto*. Cf. '*pro cauto timidum*,' 12. 12.

*imbellem pro perito belli*, 'a coward instead of a good general.'

§ 21. *armatus intentusque sis* is a poetical way of saying 'always keep your soldiers and yourself in readiness for a battle.'

§ 1. *magis* belongs to '*vera*.'

§ 3. *se popolare incendium, &c.*, see on 35. 3.

§ 4. *Ab*, 'Immediately after.'

*turba* is ablative, 'conspicior' agreeing with '*plebes*.'

*quum*, 'although.'

§ 5. *permixto*. Rather a strong word considering that the veterans ('*omne robur virium*') were kept quite distinct from the new troops.

*ut*, 'in such a way that.'

*propius Hannibalem*. See on 21. 1. 2 '*propius periculum*.'

§ 6. *aetatem excusantem*, 'when he pleaded his age as a reason (for not serving).'

*Geminum Servilium*. An inversion, as in 32. 7.

**Chap.  
40.**

**Chap. 40.** § 8. *superabat*, 'was left,'  
*sed ne unde raperet quidem*, &c. 'but there was not even anything left which he could plunder,' lit. 'from which (unde) he could carry off plunder.'

§ 9. *parata fuerit*, 'was ready, and would have been carried out' (Weissenborn), i. e. '(the Spaniards) were prepared to desert and would have done so.'

*si maturitas temporum*, &c. 'if the Romans had waited for the development of events.'

**Chap. 41.** § 1. *etiam* emphasizes 'fortuna.'  
*proelio ac*. This 'ac' couples 'orto' to 'tumultuario,' and the words between 'ac' and 'orto' qualify the latter.

*ex praeparato*. Livy uses these neuter participles where we should use abstract substantives; 'ex' belongs only to 'praeparato' and does not govern 'iussu.'

*haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio*, 'an engagement in which the Carthaginians were decidedly worsted.'

§ 2. *Ad* is here used as an adverb. Otherwise we should have 'ad mille et septingentos caesi.'

§ 3. *ni cessatum foret*, 'if they had not hung back.' The verb is used impersonally here, as is also 'debellari.'

§ 4. *Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati*. He may have remembered how a slight success proved the ruin of Sempronius.

§ 5. *duas prope partes*, &c. 'that almost two-thirds of the army consisted of recruits,' lit. 'that there were in the army almost two-thirds (consisting) of recruits.'

§ 6. *fortunae*, 'property,' i. e. everything not needed for the march, for we see from § 7 that the 'impedimenta' were not left behind.

§ 7. *trans*, 'behind.'

*mediam* means 'which lay between the hills,' and shows that it is meant that the infantry were behind the hills on the left, and the cavalry behind the hills on the right, not both behind the same range of hills as the words 'trans proximos montes,' &c. might otherwise mean.

§ 8. *ut* introduces the result of Hannibal's whole stratagem, not merely of the action described in the last clause.

§ 9. *Crebri relictī*, &c. 'Many fires were left burning in the camp to give the impression that Hannibal had intended (by a repetition of the plan with which he had tricked Fabius the year before) to make the consuls think that he was still encamped there, and thus to keep them from moving, until he had got a good start in his flight.' This stratagem of Hannibal's was a double one, such as those performed in 'dodging,' or fencing, where not the first feint, but a second feint, is often the

really illusory one. Hannibal left the fires burning to make the Romans think that he was pretending to be there while he was far away. In reality he had not gone far away, but was hiding in the neighbourhood of his camp. **Chap. 41.**

§ 1. *subductae*, 'were led up' toward Hannibal's empty camp. **Chap. 42.**  
*stationes*. Of the Romans.

§ 3. *ducerentque*, sc. '*exercitum*.'

§ 4. *sustinere*, 'to restrain.'

*praefectum*, 'a cavalry officer.' The commander of a '*turma*' was so called.

§ 5. *cum cura* goes with '*speculatus*.'

§ 6. *in promptu*, 'exposed to view.'

*vidisse*. Supply '*se*.'

§ 8. *sua sponte*, i.e. apart from any divine warning.

*pulli quoque*, &c. 'the sacred fowls also were unfavourable,' i.e. they would not eat greedily, or perhaps refused to eat at all.  
*efferenti*. Not of course with his own hand.

§ 9. *Claudique consulis*. P. Claudius Pulcher, when in command of the Roman fleet off Lilybaeum, had determined to attack the Carthaginian fleet in the harbour of Drepanum. He was told that the sacred chickens would not eat. 'Then let them drink,' said Claudius, and he had the poor birds thrown overboard. A crushing defeat was the natural result of such impiety (B.C. 249).

§ 10. *Di prope ipsi*, &c. 'An almost providential occurrence postponed on that day, though it did not prevent the disaster that was impending upon the Romans.'

§ 11. *Servilio atque Atilio consulibus*, 'in the consulship of Servilius and Atilius.'

§ 12. *Horum opportunus*, &c. 'The timely arrival of these men restored their authority to the consuls, one of whom had, in the spirit of a demagogue, already damaged his own position in the soldiers' eyes by means of a shameful concession.'

§ 1. *postquam motos magis*, &c. 'when he saw that the Romans, in spite of their unthinking eagerness at the first, had not persisted in their rashness.' **Chap. 43.**

*nequicquam*, 'without having accomplished anything.' It is to be taken with '*rediit*.'

§ 3. *annonam*, 'scanty rations' (Church and Brodribb). It means literally *here* 'the price of food.'

§ 4. *agitasse*, 'to have thought.' It is not likely that Hannibal really entertained any such idea.

*ita ut*, lit. 'in such a way as to.'

**Chap. 43.** § 5. *movere inde statuit*. According to Polybius this movement took place before the new consuls Aemilius and Terentius took command of the army.

*maturiora messibus*, 'more ripe for harvest.'

*Apuliae loca*. If this is a mere periphrasis for 'Apuliam,' it will imply that Livy did not regard Gereonium as being strictly in Apulia. However, the words may mean, 'into a part of Apulia that was warmer, and therefore,' &c.

*quo longius ab hoste recessisset*. This clause rather spoils the logic of the sentence, 'ut . . . essent,' which, as it stands, is a mixture of the two sentences, 'quia, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, eo transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis futura erant,' and 'ut transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent.'

*transfugia impeditiora*, &c. 'it might be less easy for the more fickle among his followers to desert.'

§ 6. *ut insidiarum*. This stratagem of Hannibal's was one step more complex than the last (41.9).

*priori*. The alarm they had felt in finding out Hannibal's last deception.

§ 9. *sententia*. Ablative.

§ 10. *eum vicum*. Cannae. The place lay on the right bank of the Aufidus, a few miles from its mouth.

*aversa a Vulturno vento*, i. e. looking north-west, for this wind (now called the Sirocco) blew from the south-east.

§ 11. *aversi* qualifies 'pugnaturi,' and is itself further explained by 'terga tantum afflante vento.'

**Chap. 44.** § 1. *eodem ferme intervallo*. This is to be taken with 'divisis,' which means 'being separated.'

§ 2. *ex sua cuiusque opportunitate* means that each man had to seize his moment for getting water. 'Ex sua cuique opportunitate' would be more natural, 'cuique' being in apposition to 'aquatoribus.'

§ 3. *trans*. From the point of view of Hannibal, and the larger Roman camp, which were both on the right bank of the river.

*ripa ulterior*. Still from the same point of view; it therefore means the left bank.

§ 5. *obiiceret*. Cf. our expression 'to throw in one's teeth.' It is meant that Paulus said, 'Look at what happened to Sempronius and Flaminius;' and that Varro retorted, 'It is a very fine thing for a man who is afraid to fight to say that he is following Fabius' example.'

§ 6. *hic*. Varro.

*nullam penes se culpam esse*, 'that it was no fault of his.'

*usu cepisset*, &c. 'had acquired a prescriptive right to Italy. 'Usu capere' is a legal phrase denoting the acquisition of anything by a

process, such as that by which a right of way is acquired. In translating omit the 'velut.' We use metaphors where the Romans used similes. **Chap. 44.**

§ 7. *ille*. Paulus.

*videret, ut . . . vigerent* represents 'vide, ut . . . vigeant' in the *oratio recta* of Paulus' supposed words.

§ 1. *ad multum diei*, 'until late in the day.'

§ 4. *tumultuario auxilio*, 'such an irregular force.'

*ut ea modo una*, &c. 'that no other reason kept the Romans from at once crossing the river and forming in order of battle, but the fact that,' &c.

*summa imperii*, 'the supreme command.'

§ 5. *sors*. The consuls may have cast lots at the beginning of the campaign for the first day of command. But '*sors*' is often used rather loosely.

*nihil consulto collega*, 'without asking any advice from his colleague.' This gives us a hint as to how wise generals may often have minimised the inconveniences arising from the alternations of supreme command.

§ 6. *Romanos equites*. Not '*equites Romanos*' in the technical sense (see on 21. 59. 9), but Roman cavalry as opposed to that of the allies.

§ 8. *Gemino Servilio*, &c. 'the command of the centre was entrusted to Servilius Geminus.'

§ 3. *utraque cornua*. Of the infantry, not of the whole army. **Chap. 46.** This formation must be carefully remembered, otherwise it will be difficult to understand ch. 47.

§ 4. *ita armati erant*. During the halt on the shores of the Adriatic, as has been mentioned in the note on 9. 4.

*et at Trebiam, ceterum*, &c. Lit. 'taken also at Trebia, but chiefly,' &c. The meaning is clear.

§ 5. *eiusdem formae fere*. As the Roman shields with which the Africans were armed, i.e. they were long and narrow. On the other hand, both the Gallic and Spanish swords differed from the Roman, the Gallic swords in being extremely long and in having no points, so as to be useless for thrusting; the Spanish swords in being so short as to be useless for cutting (the Roman sword could be used either for cutting or thrusting). Possibly, however, Livy throughout this passage, is merely contrasting the Gallic and Spanish arms '*inter se*.'

*mucronibus*, 'points.'

§ 6. *praetextis purpura*, 'with purple borders.'

§ 1. *levibus . . . armis*, 'the light-armed troops.'

§ 3. *nitentes* is nom., agreeing with a plural word that was to have come instead of '*vir*.' **Chap. 47.**

**Chap.**     *stantibus ac confertis*, &c. 'the horses being brought to a stand-  
**47.** still, and at last packed close together in the struggle.'

§ 4. *Sub equestris*, &c. 'Just as the cavalry engagement was finished.'  
*constabant*, 'remained unbroken.'

§ 5. *obliqua fronte* here seems to mean with a line curved by advancing the wings into such a formation as would be best adapted for attacking the enemy's centre (i. e. the Gauls and Spaniards), which Livy here describes as formed in the shape of a wedge, while Polybius describes it as in the shape of a crescent, convex in front. The Roman formation for attack was consequently concave in front.

§ 6. *Impulsis*. 'Impellere' is often used in the sense of 'to break' an enemy's line.

*pavore* is to be taken with 'praeceps.'

*mediam . . . aciem* must mean the middle of the 'cuneus,' and thus would imply that the Romans cut their way into the middle of it. This seems hardly consistent with § 8.

*subsidia*. They were not strictly speaking in 'reserve,' but were acting in support of their allies.

§ 7. *reductis alis*, 'the wings being thrown back,' i. e. 'having been thrown back,' for the Africans were the wings. More properly speaking, the centre of the Gauls and Spaniards had been advanced, so that they formed a curved line, while the Africans were drawn up in straight lines on either flank of them.

§ 8. *aequavit frontem primum*. First the Gauls, who had offered a convex front to the enemy, fell back till they formed a straight line with the African divisions on their flanks, then they fell back still more, so as to offer a concave front to the enemy.

(*Afri*) *circa iam cornua fecerant*, 'had already wheeled round to outflank the Romans.' Polybius tells us that as soon as the Romans had got between the two divisions of Africans, the latter—who were probably in a very deep formation, if not actually in column—*faced*<sup>1</sup> inwards, so that the Romans were at once enclosed on two sides. Livy, however, makes the Africans wheel inwards, so that he clearly regards them as having been drawn up in line.

*circumdedere alas* means 'enclosed them' (lit. 'threw their wings round them'). Livy only means here that they barred their way in front, for he afterwards adds, '*clausere et ab tergo hostes*,' as a distinct manœuvre.

**Chap.**     § 1. *sinistro cornu Romano*, 'on the left Roman wing.'  
**48.**

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<sup>1</sup> That 'facing,' and not 'wheeling,' is the meaning of *κλίναντες* in Polybius 3. 115, was pointed out to the writer of these notes by Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson, of Balliol College.

§ 3. *considerere*, 'to take their post.'

§ 4. *aversam*, 'in the rear.'

§ 5. *pertinax in mala*, &c. 'an obstinate though now hopeless resistance.'

Chap.  
48.

*Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat.* On the contrary, he was in command of the left wing, i.e. the Gallic and Spanish cavalry. Polybius says that Hasdrubal, after defeating the Roman cavalry, went to help the Numidian horse in their until then doubtful struggle against the cavalry of the Roman allies, and that when these fled before the combined attack, he sent the Numidian horse after the fugitives, and went with his own contingent to help the Carthaginian infantry. The present section of Livy and the next read like a confused summary of Polybius. It is possible that something may have dropped out of the text.

§ 3. *omissis postremo equis*, 'who finally dismounted.'

*et ad regendum equum.* He had been for some time weak, but now he was *even* (et) too weak to guide his horse.

'*Quam mallet, vinctos mihi traderet.*' According to Plutarch (Life of Fabius Maximus), Hannibal said, 'This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot' (*τοῦτο μάλλον ἡβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον*). There is, apparently, a great contradiction between the two reports, but Livy's means, 'He might as well have given them up to me bound, to save me the trouble of conquering them, which I shall certainly do;' Plutarch's 'I shall conquer them as easily as if they were bound.'

Chap.  
49.

§ 4. *quale iam haud dubia*, &c. means the sort that would be expected from men who knew that the enemy must overcome them. 'The dismounted cavalry fought like men who knew that the enemy were certain of victory.'

*quum* had best be represented in translation by a full stop, or colon, and the beginning of a new sentence without any explanatory particle. *in vestigio*, 'where they stood.'

§ 6. *praetervehens*. The active participle is used as if 'praetervehor' were a strictly deponent verb.

§ 7. *quem unum*, &c. 'whom the gods ought to protect as being the only man free from all blame for this day's defeat.'

§ 8. *et comes ego te tollere possum*, &c. 'and I am here to be able to lift you and protect you.' Lentulus must have meant to sit behind him on the horse and hold him up as well as hold the reins. The consul had dismounted because he was too weak to manage his own horse.

§ 9. *Tu quidem*, &c. 'Bravely said, Cneius Cornelius.' On the word 'macte' Madvig remarks (Lat. Gr. § 268 a. obs. 3 note), 'the word is generally, but without good reason, considered as the vocative of an adjective otherwise unused.'

**Chap.** Cn. Corneli. The tribune's full name was Cneius Cornelius  
**49.** Lentulus.

cave. After this word supply 'ne.'

§ 10. *patribus*, 'to the Senate.'

*priusquam* . . . *advenit*. See note on 'opprimit' (50. 8).

*vixisse adhuc et mori*, 'has lived until to-day and is now dying.'

Paulus speaks as if Lentulus would be at Rome before his own death took place.

§ 11. *in*, 'in the midst of.'

*e consulatu*, 'for my acts as consul.'

§ 12. *oppressere*, 'came upon.'

§ 13. *circumventi sunt* is shown by the context to mean 'were surrounded and captured.'

§ 14. *Venusiam*. This town was Apulian, but on the borders of Lucania. Horace, whose birth-place it was, says that it was doubtful whether he was Lucanian or Apulian:—

'Sequitur hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps;

Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus.'

§ 15. *Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti*. Polybius makes the total number of slain on the Roman side 70,000.

*et tanta*. For this, which is nonsense as it stands, Madvig suggests 'et tantadem,' 'and almost the same proportion of Romans as of allies.'

§ 16. *consulares quidam*, &c. 'some of whom were ex-consuls, ex-praetors, or ex-aediles.'

§ 17. *quum sua voluntate*, &c. 'and had yet volunteered to serve as soldiers in the legions.' 'Quum' is here used in much the same way as in 51. 9.

**Chap.** § 1. *Aliensi cladi*. In the battle of the Alia (390 B.C.) the Romans  
**50.** suffered a crushing defeat from the Gauls.

*nobilitate par*, 'as famous as.'

*levior*, i. e. than the battle of the Alia.

§ 3. *ad*, 'at.'

*ad Cannas*, &c. 'at Cannae hardly fifty men fled with the one consul, and nearly the whole army stayed to die with the other.'

§ 4. *proelio*, *deinde ex laetitia*, &c. 'tired with fighting, and with the revels which they afterwards held in honour of their victory.'

§ 5. *quum aequae coniungi possent*. In oratio recta: 'it being just as easy for them to join us.'

§ 6. *Romanus civis sis*. After the battle of Lake Trasimenus, Hannibal had liberated the Latin prisoners without ransom, but put the Romans in chains (7. 5).

*sis* . . . *tua*. The abrupt change from plural to singular in this speech is remarkable. Tuditanus apparently singles out the leader of the oppo-



sition and for a while addresses himself to him only. At the end of the next sentence the plural is as abruptly resumed. **Chap. 50.**

§ 7. *cives*, 'the fellow-countrymen.'

§ 8. *opprimit*, 'comes upon us.' '*Antequam*' and '*priusquam*' (cf. '*priusquam* . . . *advenit*,' 49. 10) are usually constructed with the present, though sometimes with the future indicative, where there is an idea of anticipating an event, and the main verb of the apodosis is in the future indicative, or in the imperative. If, however, it be stated that an event will *not* be anticipated, the '*antequam*' or '*priusquam*' will be followed by the future perfect. See 23. 12. 10.

§ 10. *Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque*. Livy has here given us a complete hexameter.

§ 1. *suaderentque*, 'and advised him.'

§ 3. *Hannibali nimis laeta*, &c. 'The victory seemed to Hannibal too glorious and too great to be at once realised.' **Chap. 51.**

§ 4. *Mora eius diei*, &c. Hannibal probably knew what he was about better than Maharbal. It has been observed that his infantry was weak, and his powerful cavalry would be useless in a siege, that the capture of Rome would have been impossible to any but an overwhelming force, which Hannibal's certainly was not, and that a repulse would have been ruin.

§ 6. *tot . . . millia*, 'all those thousands.'

*ut quem cuique*, &c. 'just as chance had grouped them' (lit. 'had put someone next to each').

*pugna . . . fuga*. Ablatives.

*quos stricta*, &c. The pain attending on the closing of the wounds aroused them from their torpor.

§ 8. *apparebat*, 'it was clear.'

*interclusisse spiritum*, lit. 'to have shut in their breath,' which is what a man actually does when he suffocates himself.

§ 9. *convertit*, lit. 'attracted,' i.e. 'amazed.'

*naso auribusque laceratis* refers to the Numidian, the rest of the section to the Roman. The whole passage is strongly characteristic of Livy. Notice especially (1) the way in which '*Numida*' is grammatically, while the whole scene is logically the subject of '*convertit*;' (2) the explanatory use of '*quum*;' (3) the two ablatives absolute ('*manibus . . . inutilibus*' and '*in rabiem ira versa*,' and (4) the use of '*laniando*' (cf. '*en lacérant*') instead of the present participle. In a modern language the sentence would wear a very different aspect, e.g. 'But what amazed them most of all was the sight of a living Numidian lying under the body of a dead Roman. The ears and nose of the African were terribly mangled, for his enemy, when his hands could no longer hold his sword, had turned from rage to fury and died tearing him with his teeth.'

**Chap.  
52.**

§ 1. *brachio obiecto*, 'by throwing up an earthwork.'

§ 2. *omnibus*, 'the whole force' (Church and Brodribb).

*Facti*, this word is here followed by two constructions, (1) 'ut' with the subjunctive, (2) the ablative. The first construction is interrupted by the second after the word '*traderent*,' and is resumed after the word '*centenis*.' 'Having agreed to give up their arms and horses, to pay three hundred "*nummi quadrigati*" for every Roman citizen . . . and that when they had paid that price they should be allowed to depart . . .'

*nummis quadrigatis*. '*Denarii*,' which were often stamped with a '*quadriga*.'

§ 3. *traditque in custodiam . . . sunt*. To stop there, of course, until the ransom agreed upon should be paid. We shall see that the Romans refused to pay it for the captives.

§ 4. *interea*, resumes, as it were, the idea of '*dum*.'

*quod haud minus tutum erat*. There is no other antecedent to this than the idea conveyed by the sentence '*palati passim per agros*.'

§ 5. *si quid argenti*, sc. '*erat*.' Lit. 'if there was any silver,' i.e. 'all the silver that they found.'

*ad vescendum facto*, '(silver) made for eating purposes,' i.e. 'plate.'

§ 6. *ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur*. According to Polybius only 5700 fell on the Carthaginian side. On the other hand, his estimate of the Roman slain is larger than Livy's. See note on 49. 15.

*fortissimorum virorum*. The genitive is required by '*millia*,' and does not imply that there were any other slain besides the '*octo millia*.' 'All men of tried valour' (Church and Brodribb).

*Consulem quoque Romanum*. Cf. 7. 5.

**Chap.  
53.**

§ 2. *de*, 'of.'

*P. Cornelius Scipio*. See 21. 46. 7, 8.

§ 4. *consultantibus*, 'deliberating.'

*inter paucos*, i. e. with a few others.

*comploratam*, 'given up for lost' ('bewailed as if dead').

§ 5. *quorum principem*. Supply '*esse*.' We should expect '*quorum princeps sit*.' On such constructions as this Madvig remarks (Lat. Gram. § 402 a) 'the accusative with the infinitive is used in relative propositions' (in oratio obliqua), 'if the relative only annexes a continuation of the opinion already expressed, so that it might be changed to a demonstrative with or without *et*.'

*ad regum aliquem*. Capes says that they meant to serve as soldiers in the army of some foreign prince.

§ 6. *praeterquam atrox*, &c. 'which, besides being terrible, was,' &c. *super*, 'after.'

*negat consilii rem esse*, 'said that it was no matter for a council to deliberate upon.' Chap. 53.

*fatalis*, 'destined to be.'

§ 8. *ubi* means 'ea in quibus.'

§ 9. *hospitium*, 'lodgings.'

§ 10. '*Ex mei animi sententia*.' Supply '*iuro*,' 'truly and honestly I swear.' The following '*ut*' does not depend on '*iuro*' ('*iuro ut*' would not be Latin), but answers to some such ellipse as '*ita me di ament*;' the words '*deseram*' and '*patiar*' being futures.

§ 11. *si . . . fallo*, 'if I break my oath.'

§ 3. *ceteraque . . . hospitaliter facta*, 'and (the other, i.e.) all other hospitalities were shown.' Chap. 54.

§ 4. *gravius*, 'too heavy.'

*multitudo*, 'the numbers.'

§ 5. *nuntium . . . mittunt*, 'sent a message to say.'

§ 6. *defensuri*, 'in a position to defend themselves.'

§ 7. *occisione occisum . . . exercitum*, 'that the army had been utterly destroyed.' The phrase recalls the Hebraisms in the Greek of the New Testament, e.g. Acts of the Apostles, 5. 28: *Ὁὐ παραγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ*; 'Did not we straitly command you . . .?' E. V., lit. 'Did not we command you with a command?'

§ 8. *neque aggrediar narrare*, &c. 'nor will I attempt a detailed account, where the details would lose by being related.' '*Aggrediar*' and '*faciam*' are futures.

§ 9. *Consule exercituque*, &c. The sense of the section is as follows: 'So recent was the disaster of Trasimenus, that the battle of Cannae seemed rather to accompany it, than to follow it.'

*nec ulla iam castra*. This clause and the next depend on an impersonal '*nuntiabatur*' to be supplied from '*nuntiabantur*' above.

§ 11. *vectigales ac stipendiarios*. As was said on 21. 41. 7, the Carthaginians, though they became '*stipendiarii*,' were not made '*vectigales*' after the First Punic War. Livy is hardly fair in comparing the First Punic War with the Second. The objects of the first war were different, and a defeat like that of Cannae would probably have ended it. He is right in saying that the spirit of the Roman people was very different from that of the Carthaginians, but it is not true that Hannibal's spirit was at all that of the great majority of his countrymen. It may almost be said that there was no period in Hannibal's campaigns in Italy, when his position was not more difficult than the Romans thought theirs to be immediately after the defeat of Cannae.

**Chap. 55.** § 3. *ne consilium quidem*, &c. 'they could not even form any distinct plan.' (The primary meaning of 'expedire' is 'to disentangle,' just as 'impedire' means to 'entangle'.)

*obstreperetque*. The 'ob' here implies interruption.

*nondum palamfacto*, i.e. 'qui vivi qui mortui essent.'

§ 6. *illud* refers to 'matronas publico arceant,' &c., &c., below.

*arceant*. The subjunctives depend on 'illud . . . agendum . . . ut.' Fabius' words are supposed to be 'Haec exploranda . . . sunt; illud per vos ipsos, patres, agendum est ut . . . tollatis, matronas publico arceatis . . .'

§ 7. *familiarum*, 'of the slaves.'

*suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectent*, means that each senator was to wait at home for tidings of the fate of anyone about whom he was anxious.

**Chap. 56.** § 1. *pedibus . . . issent*. Merely voted for it (by moving to one side), i.e. voted for it without any discussion.

§ 3. *in*, 'about.'

*nundinantem*, 'bargaining.'

§ 4. *matrona*. The festival was kept by married women only.

§ 5. *diebus* is ablative, nevertheless translate 'was limited to thirty days.'

§ 8. *provinciamque aliam Romanam*, 'and the rest of the Roman province (of Sicily).'

**Chap. 57.** § 1. *praetoris*, i.e. 'of the propraetor.'

**M. Claudium**. M. Claudius Marcellus was praetor of Sicily for this year (see 35. 6), but he had not gone to his province, which was administered by the praetor of B.C. 217, Titus Otacilius Crassus, as propraetor. Marcellus is now practically entrusted with the supreme command, Varro being with great tact recalled to the city on the ground that his presence is urgently needed there.

*primo quoque tempore* &c., 'at the very first opportunity, in so far as it could be done in accordance with the welfare of the state.'

§ 2. *Territi etiam*, &c. 'Besides their terrible defeats there were ominous events to alarm the senate, among others the discovery that two Vestals, &c. . . .' In the rest of the sentence the grammar is rather curious. The reason of the Romans' terror, viz. the guilt of the Vestals, is put in a participial clause, while the finite verbs '*necata fuerat*,' '*consciverat*,' '*caesus erat*,' which ought grammatically to give the reason for '*territi*,' merely give the circumstances of the punishment of the misdemeanour.

*sub terra . . . necata*, 'buried alive.'

§ 3. *in comitio*. See note on 60. 1.

§ 4. **Hoc nefas.** Again the reader must beware of thinking that the punishment of the guilty persons is alluded to in terms of censure. 'Nefas' refers to the offence.

ut fit, 'as is generally the case.'

§ 5. **suppliciis**, 'supplications.'

§ 6. **locum saxo consaeptum** means 'a stone vault.'

ante. In the Gallic war that preceded the Second Punic War.

**minime Romano sacro** is in apposition to 'hostiis humanis.'

§ 8. **tertia erat.** But see 53. 2, where the third legion is mentioned as having fought at Cannae. Unless the 'legiones classicae' were numbered separately, we must say that Livy has followed different authorities in the two passages.

§ 9. **dictus.** He must have been nominated by Varro (see 31. 9). We learn from 33. 11 that the consul could nominate a dictator without being present at Rome himself.

**Ti. Sempronius.** Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, not Tiberius Sempronius Longus, who was consul in B.C. 218.

**iuniores** were technically men under forty-five and over sixteen.

**praetextatos.** Youths still wearing the 'toga praetexta' (a toga with a broad purple border), i. e. under sixteen, at which age that distinctive dress of boyhood was changed for the 'toga virilis.'

**quattuor ex his legiones**, i. e. either 16,000 or 20,000 infantry.

§ 10. **ex formula**, 'according to the terms of their alliance.'

§ 11. **aliam formam novi dilectus**, 'another kind of new levy.' The 'first kind of new levy' was the enrolling of 'praetextati.' Forma is here used like *είδος*.

§ 12. **magis**, than the captives.

**quum**, 'although.'

§ 2. **segregatisque.** Into Romans and allies.

**ad Trebiam.** This is the first intimation Livy has given us of Hannibal having adopted this practice after Trebia.

§ 3. **imperio.** He wished to get back what had been lost in and after the First Punic War.

§ 8. **veluti** implies the pretext of his return, **causa** the real reason. Notice that the more important idea of his returning is here subordinated to the less important one of his rejoining his comrades. We have had other instances of this inversion.

§ 9. **dictatoris verbis**, 'in the dictator's name.'

§ 1. **senatus . . . datus est.** Cf. 21. 12. 8 'Senatus Alorco datus est.' **Chap. 58.**  
**viliores**, 'held cheaper (by).'

§ 2. **nisi nobis plus iusto**, &c. 'unless we think too highly of our deserts.'

**Chap.** § 6. *pacti sumus*, 'we agreed upon.'

**59.** § 7. *asperrimos illos ad*, 'with all their hatred of.'

*Tarentum*. Pyrrhus wintered there after the battle of Heraclea, 280 B. C.

§ 8. *nec supersumus pugnae*, &c. 'and we survive the battle only because the enemy had not swords enough or strength enough to cut down all the army.'

§ 10. *nec premendo alium me extulisse velim*. Cf. 12. 12 'premandoque superiorem . . . sese extollebat.'

*ne illi quidem*, &c. 'but, unless . . . let not those who,' &c.

*cursus*, like 'pernicitatis,' depends on 'praemium,' not, like 'pedum,' on 'pernicitatis.'

*merito*, if it means 'rightly' here, is redundant, but it may mean 'in valour.'

§ 12. *nam si*, i. e. 'I say "price," for if I were to compare our worth . . .'

§ 13. *quod nullo nostro merito faciatis*, 'treatment which we have done nothing to deserve.'

§ 14. *avarior an crudelior*. These, as we have seen, were the stock charges against Hannibal.

*vix existimari potest*, 'it is almost impossible to judge.' For the sense of 'existimo,' cf. Sall. Jugurtha, ch. 85, § 14 'Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint.'

§ 15. *civium vestrorum*. Those who were Hannibal's prisoners.

§ 17. *in nos mitis . . . esse velit*, i. e. 'should consent to release us.' *quum . . . visi simus*, 'after having been thought . . .'

§ 18. *sine pretio* belongs to 'remissi.'

*capti* is equivalent to 'captivi.'

*ad redimendos sese*, i. e. though they were sent back without ransom, it was not on account of any backwardness in their countrymen to ransom them.

§ 19. *neque enim*, &c. 'for it will never be believed that it was the money that you grudged.'

**Chap.** § 1. *in comitio*. The comitium adjoined the forum proper, and  
**60.** was often included under the general name of 'forum.' It was the place where the 'comitia curiata' met, and was close to the Senate House.

§ 2. *metus ac necessitas*, a sort of hendiadys. 'Fear for those they loved.'

§ 3. *nec* has here the force of 'nec tamen.'

§ 4. *si quibus*, &c. 'while those who had not at present enough money for the purpose, should have it lent them by the treasury, security being given to the state by bondsmen and their property.' The 'praes'

was the person who pledged his property as security for the money being paid. **Chap. 60.**

§ 7. *exemplo*, 'by setting a precedent.'

*captis* . . . in *acie*, see 59. 3.

*iis*, qui *Venusiam*, &c., see 59. 10.

§ 8. *acturus sum*, 'I am going to speak.'

*P. Sempronius*. See 50. 6 foll.

§ 9. *tum*, 'and subsequently.'

*et ipsis*. As well as the Romans.

§ 11. *P. Decius*. His exploit near *Saticula* in *Samnium* is described in *Livy* 7. 34. 3 foll. That of *Calpurnius Flamma* took place near *Camarina* in *Sicily* B. C. 258.

§ 12. *diceret*. We should expect '*dixisset*.'

§ 13. *reduces* . . . *facit*, 'he offers to bring them back.'

§ 15. *sero*, 'too late.'

*deminuti capite*. Romans captured by the enemy suffered the '*maxima capitis deminutio*,' i.e. a total loss of their civil *stātus*. Cf. *Hor. Odes* 3. 5. 41 foll.:—

*Fertur pudicæ coniugis osculum*

*Parvosque natos ut capitis minor*

*Ab se removisse et virilem*

*Torvus humi posuisse vultum.*

Indeed all that part of the ode which refers to *Regulus* well deserves to be compared with the speech before us.

§ 16. *Pretio redituri estis eo*, &c. 'Is money to restore you to the position that you lost by cowardice and wickedness?'

§ 17. *quid*, 'why.'

*conati sunt, ni*, &c. 'endeavoured (and would have succeeded) had not,' &c.

§ 18. *desideret*. Ironical.

§ 19. *neque* . . . *hostes obstitere*. This does not mean that the enemy did not resist them, but that their resistance was ineffectual. 'And the enemy could not stop these six hundred.'

§ 20. *futurum* . . . *fuisse*, 'was going to be,' i.e. 'was likely to have been.'

*Haberetis*. If all the troops in the '*castra minora*' had thrown in their lot with the 'six hundred.'

§ 21. *Nisi quis credere potest*, &c. The sense is:—'(They cannot be good and loyal citizens) unless it can be believed that men who tried to stop the sally sympathized with those who made it, or that, now that cowardice has brought them to slavery they are not envious of those whose courage has won them liberty,' i.e. 'They are disloyal, for they restrained those who were fighting for Rome; and they are wicked, for they hate the good and brave.'

**Chap. 60.** § 22. *At*, as is often the case, introduces the supposed objection of an opponent.

*ad erumpendum*, &c. 'if they had not the resolution to make a sally, they had enough to defend the camp bravely.'

§ 23. *affectisque*, &c. 'and they were so weakened by hunger that they could hardly hold their swords.'

*necessitatibus . . . humanis*, 'the causes which limit human endurance.'

§ 24. *Orto sole*. With these words Torquatus begins to speak again in propria persona.

*nullam fortunam certaminis experti*, 'without even trying the chances of a battle.'

§ 25. *istorum*, here, as often, has a contemptuous sense.

§ 26. *Et*, 'And after this.'

*vos*. The reader will have noticed that Torquatus sometimes addresses the senators, sometimes the 'legati.'

**Chap. 61.** § 1. *cognitione attingebant*, 'were related to.' Livy means that almost every senator had some relation among the prisoners.

*exemplum civitatis*, &c. 'the precedent the state had set by behaving with severity,' &c.

*iam inde antiquitus*, 'ever since the earliest times.'

§ 2. *huiusce rei*, i. e. *pecuniae*.

§ 3. *triste*, 'stern.'

*non redimi captivos*. Weissenborn says that the present is put for the future here, but it may mean 'it was not the practice to ransom prisoners.'

*prosecuti sunt*. Sc. the people who had been waiting outside the Senate House.

§ 4. *Unus ex iis*. The man mentioned in 58. 8.

*quod . . . iure iurando se exsolvisset*, 'because he considered that he had discharged his oath.' He had not really done so, and therefore Livy uses the subjunctive of 'virtual oratio obliqua.'

*relatumque ad senatum est*, 'and had been brought before the Senate.'

§ 5. *decem primos*, 'the ten who were highest in rank.' (Wölfflin's reading '*decem primo*' gives better sense.)

*ita admissos esse, ne tamen*. 'Ne' is for 'ut non,' 'were admitted, but so as not to be allowed to address the Senate,' i. e. 'were allowed to come into the city, but not allowed to address the Senate.'

§ 6. *omnium spe*, 'than all (of the prisoners who had remained with Hannibal) had expected.'

§ 7. *novos legatos tres*, 'the three last envoys.'



§ 8. *recognoscendi nomina*. Of looking over the list of the prisoners' names. **Chap.**  
**61.**

*exsolvisset*, like '*exsolvisset*' above (§ 4).

§ 9. *proximis censoribus*, 'under the new censors,' not, 'by the new censors,' which would be '*a novis censoribus*.'

*omnibus notis ignominiisque*, 'by all the disgrace attendant on the censorial mark.' The censors might attach a note to the name of any citizen whose conduct they held to be reprehensible, and such a mark brought '*ignominia*' on the person to whose name it was attached, but no other punishment.

*caruerint*. Voluntarily.

§ 10. *vel ea res* 'Vel' gives emphasis. Cf. 21. 13. 3.  
*imperio*, Rome's.

§ 11. *Atellani, Calatini*. Calatia is about six miles south-east, Atella about ten due south of Capua.

§ 12. *praeter hos Uzentini*. Here '*praeter*' means 'besides,' above ('*praeter Pentros*') it meant 'except.' Uzentium is one of the most southerly towns in Calabria, the 'heel' of Italy.

§ 14. *quod de re publica non desperasset*. He had shown this by going to Canusium to take command of the remnants of the army (54. 6), and he showed it now by returning to Rome.

§ 15. *nihil recusandum supplicii*. Livy is alluding to the Carthaginian habit of crucifying unsuccessful generals.

## BOOK XXIII.

§ 1. *moverat*. Probably an instance of the intransitive use of the word '*moveo*.' For though we might say here that '*castra*' or '*exercitum*' was to be understood, the same cannot be said of 25. 9. 7, '*Hannibalem exercitumque e castris non movisse*.' **Chap.**  
**1.**

§ 2. *premebat eum*, lit. 'kept him down,' i. e. opposed him.

*per gratiam Romanorum*, 'on account of the favour shown to them (the Mopsii) by Rome.'

§ 3. *Mopsiani*. The termination *-ani* expresses a party. Cf. '*Sullani*,' '*Christiani*.' So '*Mopsiani*' is 'the party of the Mopsii.'

§ 5. *ut urbem maritimam haberet*, i. e. as a place for disembarking reinforcements, or, in case of defeat, for embarking for Carthage.

§ 6. *et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti*, 'there are very many hollow ways and hidden recesses (in the hills) there.'

*ex agris*, depends upon '*praedam*.'

§ 7. *nec multi*, is equivalent to '*et pauci*.'

§ 10. *prompta oppugnanti*, lit. 'practicable to a besieger.'

- Chap. 2.** § 1. *luxuriantem*, 'demoralised' (Church and Brodribb).  
*licentia*, like 'felicitate' and 'indulgentia,' is a causal ablative explaining 'luxuriantem.'  
*sine modo libertatem exercentis*, 'who used their liberty without any moderation.' Notice Livy's aristocratical sympathies.  
 § 2. *Senatum*. The *Capuan* senate is meant.  
 § 3. *iam diu*, goes with 'infestam.'  
*ut . . . trucidato senatu*, &c. explains 'facinus.'  
 § 4. *improbis homo*, &c. 'being, though an unprincipled, not an utterly abandoned man.'  
*quum mallet*. This (like 'improbis homo sed,' &c.) gives a reason why Pacuvius 'rationem iniit,' &c.  
*publico consilio*, 'state-council,' i.e. what has been described above as 'the Senate.'  
 § 5. *quum . . . praefatus esset*. The apodosis to this is 'inquit' in § 9, though the grammar is interrupted by a second protasis 'quum omnes . . . permitterent,' in § 8.  
*placiturum (fuisse)*, 'would have recommended itself.'  
 § 8. *si permittant sibi*, 'if they would entrust the matter to him.'  
 § 9. *quibus nequicquam adversarer*, 'which it would be useless for me to oppose.'

- Chap. 3.** § 1. *Campani*, '*Capuans*.' The word is repeatedly used by Livy in this sense.  
 § 2. *eam*, sc. *potestatem*. We ought in strict grammar to have 'id,' for an antecedent to 'quod' (in § 1) is required.  
*per tumultum expugnantes* is opposed to 'tutam ac liberam' ungrammatically, for 'sed' ought to contrast only words of like construction.  
 § 4. *hos . . . odistis*, &c. 'while you hate these particular senators, you do not wish to have no senate at all.'  
 § 5. *quippe*, 'for.'  
*aut . . . aut*, marks alternatives.  
*Itaque duae*, &c. 'And so you must do two things at once, depose the old senate, and elect a new one.' The 'ut' is explanatory, as in the phrase, 'id agere ut.'  
*cooptetis*. The word is properly used of a body electing its own members, and is not therefore strictly applicable here.  
 § 6. *deque eorum capite* means 'on the question whether they are to be condemned to lose their lives or not.'  
*novum senatorem*, 'as a new senator.' 'Strenuum' as well as 'fortem' belongs to 'virum.'  
 § 7. *citari*, 'to be proclaimed.'

ipsum, 'the owner of the name.'

§ 8. *malum et improbum, pro se quisque clamare*, 'every man of his own accord called out that he was a wicked wretch.'

§ 10. *inopia potioris subiiciundi*, 'from the fact of there being no better man to put in his place.'

*omissa verecundia*, 'having overcome his shyness.'

§ 11. *humilitatem*, 'low birth.' 'Humilis' and its derivatives never have a good sense in classical Latin.

*genus*, 'some kind.'

§ 13. *nec . . . attinebat*, 'it was no good.'

§ 14. *notissimum quodque malum*, &c. 'that the most familiar evils were always the most tolerable.'

**Chap.  
3.**

§ 1. *vitae beneficio*, 'by saving their lives.'

§ 3. *apparatis*, 'choice.'

*secundum eam*, &c. 'when serving on a jury decided causes in favour of that party which was likely to be most popular,' &c.; 'eam' is equivalent to 'eam partem.' However, the passage may also be rendered 'appointed jurors likely to decide in favour of the cause (eam litem) which . . .'

§ 6. *accessit . . . ut*, 'it was added that.'

§ 7. *Id modo erat in mora, ne*, &c. 'The only thing which prevented them from revolting on the spot was.'

*connubium*, 'right of intermarriage.'

*miscuerat*, 'had allied.'

§ 8. *maximum vinculum* is tautological after 'mora.'

**Chap.  
4.**

§ 1. *aegre*, 'with difficulty.'

*quam poterat maxime*. This is the longer form of the more usual 'quam maxime.' It qualifies 'spernendum' as well as 'misericordibilem.'

§ 4. *iubentes*. Notice the difference between this verb and 'impero.'

§ 5. *Quid enim nobis*, &c. 'What was left us at Cannae, to justify us in saying that, since we still have something, our deficiencies must be made up by our allies?'

§ 6. *commeatus*, 'stores.'

§ 7. *non iuvetis*, &c., i.e. 'non oportet ut nos in bello iuvetis.'

§ 8. *in fidem*, 'under our protection,' or rather 'protectorate.' See next note.

**Chap.  
5.**

*ad Saticulam*. This was the scene of the exploit of Decius, mentioned in 22.60.11. The war with the Samnites, in which the affair at Saticula (B. C. 343) occurred, was begun because 'Campani quum a Samnitibus bello urgerentur, auxilio adversus eos a senatu petito, quum

**Chap. 5.** id non impetrarent, urbem et agros populo Romano dediderunt; ob quam causam, ea, quae populi Romani facta essent, defendi bello adversus Samnites placuit' (Epitome of Livy, Book VII.)

per centum prope annos. In reality only seventy-one years. There is the same exaggeration in 42. 6.

variante fortuna eventum, practically means, 'with varying fortune.'

§ 9. foedus aequum is an exaggeration. This accusative, as also 'leges vestras,' depends on 'dedimus,' but not on 'communicavimus,' which refers to 'civitatem nostram' only.

deditis, perf. part. pass. of 'dedo.'

magnae parti vestrum. In 8. 11. 16 we are told 'Equitibus Campanis civitas Romana data.' It would appear that this was the full 'civitas,' for we learn from 8. 14. 10 that all the Campanians were afterwards presented with the 'civitas sine suffragio.'

§ 11. ne Africae quidem indigenam, &c. A large number of Hannibal's troops were Spaniards.

freto Oceani, the straits communicating with the Atlantic.

expertem omnis iuris et condicionis, &c. 'ignorant of the laws, the habits, nay, almost of the language of men.'

§ 12. vesci corporibus humanis. According to Polybius, another Hannibal, surnamed Monomachus, suggested this, as a means of facilitating the march to Italy, but his great namesake refused to entertain the proposal.

§ 13. quos. The antecedent to this is of course 'pastos,' 'men who have fed upon.'

iura petere (a), lit. 'to ask for laws from,' i. e. 'to submit to the dictation of.'

non . . . detestabile sit, 'would it not be loathsome?'

genito modo in Italia, 'if only he had been born in Italy.'

§ 14. fide, 'loyalty.'

retentum, 'kept from falling further;,' recuperatum, brought back to its old position. The metaphor of 'prolapsum' is kept up in both these words.

**Chap. 6.** § 1. Ab. 'Immediately after.' Cf. 22. 40. 4 'ab hoc sermone.'

§ 2. legibus, 'terms.'

neque controversiam fore, quin . . . relinquatur is a condensed way of saying 'neque controversiam esse quin futurum sit ut . . . relinquatur.'

§ 3. ita renuntiant legationem, 'brought back such an account of their embassy.'

§ 5. extracta . . . est res, lit. 'the business (preparatory to the revolt) was protracted,' i. e. 'the revolt was postponed.'

*auctoritatibus seniorum*, 'through the weight which the opinions of the older citizens carried.' **Chap. 6.**

§ 6. *in quibusdam annalibus*. 'In some histories.'

§ 8. *nimis*, 'suspiciously.'

*Latinorum quondam postulatio*. One of the requests related to have been made by the Latins in B.C. 340, and to have been answered by a declaration of war (8. 5. 5). A fuller account will be found in the notes on Chap. 22.

§ 1. *ne quis*, 'that no . . .'

§ 2. *equitum Campanorum*. See 4. 8.

§ 3. *insuper, quam quae pacta erant*. This does not imply that they had already agreed on any crime, but that the crime was a work of supererogation in the Carthaginian cause. '*Facinus*,' however, is often used in a neutral sense (see note on § 6 '*malum facinus*').

*praefectos socium*. These were officers commanding the contingent of allies of each legion, and corresponded to the 'tribunes' of the Roman troops.

*balneis*. The unhappy men were probably confined in the hot chamber of the baths.

*fervore atque aestu*. The tautology is used for greater effect.

§ 4. *auctoritatem*, 'influence.'

§ 5. *exempla referens*, 'bringing forward as warnings.'

§ 6. *facinus*. The word properly means a remarkable deed whether good or bad, and often, as here, gets its colour from a distinctive epithet.

§ 8. *tumultus* depends on '*quid*,' as does also '*inconsulti certaminis*.'

*praetorem Campanum*. The Campanian name for this officer was '*medix tuticus*' (see 35. 13).

§ 9. *favore etiam vulgi*, &c. Notice how Livy uses ablatives exactly as if they were adverbs. '*Vulgi*' is emphatic.

§ 10. *quo timorem*, &c. 'a course which might have argued that he had good reason for alarm.'

§ 12. *ingenio*, 'naturally.'

§ 1. *Deversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres*, &c., i.e. two brothers, Sthenius Ninnius Celer and Pacuvius Ninnius Celer. **Chap. 8.**

§ 4. *deprecando magis quam purgando*, 'by making entreaties for him rather than excuses.'

§ 5. *praeterquam hospites*, 'except his hosts.'

§ 6. *de die*, 'early.' The ancient Italian practice was to begin a luxurious meal earlier, not to carry it on later than an ordinary meal.

*ex more Punico*. The Carthaginians allowed no wine to their troops while on service.

*ut in*, 'as might be expected in.'

**Chap. 8.** omnibus voluptatum illecebris instructum, 'furnished with every delicacy that luxury could suggest.'

§ 7. dominorum, 'the masters of the house,' i.e. the hosts.

interdum qualifies 'invitatione,' in relation to 'Hannibalis.' Translate the sentence, 'Alone of all the guests young Calavius, though repeatedly urged by his hosts and sometimes by Hannibal himself, could not be induced to drink.'

valetudinem excusans, 'pleading ill-health as an excuse.'

causante, 'pleading,' not as a reason why his son should not drink, but as an explanation of his extraordinary conduct. Notice that in *thought* the phrases 'ipse . . . excusans' and 'patre . . . causante' are exactly on a level.

animi quoque. The son had alluded to bodily disorder.

§ 8. posticis aedium partibus, 'at the back of the house.'

**Chap. 9.** § 2. 'Per ego te.' The 'per' governs the antecedent 'ea iura' implied in 'quaecunque.' For the place of 'per,' cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 314:—

'Per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te,

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Oro,'

where, however, 'per' is only one place apart from its case 'has lacrimas.' And for the construction cf. the lines quoted by Weissenborn:—

'Per, si qua est, quae restat adhuc mortalibus usquam

Intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum

Tantium'

(Verg. Aen. 2. 142),

and 'per quicquid deorum est' (below, § 2).

et pati. The young man would certainly have been put to death by Hannibal's followers.

§ 3. Paucae horae sunt, intra quas, &c. 'It was only a few hours ago that.'

dextrae dextras. The singular word of course refers to Hannibal, the plural to Pacuvius and his son.

sacratas fide, 'hallowed by that promise.'

§ 5. nihil sancti, non fides, non religio. Cf. 21. 4. 9 'perfidia, . . . nihil sancti . . . nulla religio.' Translate, 'But dismiss, if you will, all the scruples that religion, honour, conscience, and hospitality suggest.' 'Pietas' means probably here the feelings of duty to a guest, but it may mean those of duty to a father.

§ 7. Ut, 'Supposing that.'

§ 9. medium, 'round the waist' (Church and Brodribb).

§ 10. Tuam . . . vicem. 'On thy account.'

§ 13. in publicum, 'into the street.'

§ 2. *Romanum*, sc. 'populum.'

§ 3. *eum postulare*, for 'eum se postulare' (Weissenborn).

*de eo referatur*, 'a motion should be made about him' (Decius Magius).

§ 4. *in eam sententiam*, viz. that Decius should be given up to Hannibal.

*indignus*, 'not deserving of.'

§ 5. *templo*, 'tribunal.' Apparently any place set apart by a religious ceremony (in Rome by the augurs) would be so called.

*destitutum*, simply 'placed.'

§ 7. *capta Capua*, &c. is equivalent to 'si Capua capta esset.'

§ 8. *Ite*, &c. . . . *ut*. For these sarcastic imperatives followed by a final clause, cf. Juvenal Sat. 10. 166-167 :—

'I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes,

Ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!'

§ 10. *senatum quoque paeniteret*, &c. 'the senate too should repent of having surrendered their leading man.'

*negando rem, quam primam peterent*, 'by refusing to grant their first request.'

§ 11. *Cyrenas*. Livy uses a plural form instead of Cyrene. The place was a Greek colony in North Africa.

*ad statuam Ptolemaei regis*. For this mode of taking sanctuary, cf. Tac. Ann. 3. 36 'Incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi arrepta imagine Caesaris.'

§ 12. *ut rediret, seu Romam*, &c. for 'ut rediret Romam, si Romam redire vellet, vel Capuam, si Capuam redire vellet.'

§ 13. *Nec Magius sibi Capuam*, &c. for 'Magius dicere (dixit) et Capuam sibi non tutam fore et Romam,' &c.

§ 1. *recitavit*, 'read.'

*quibus quoque modo supplicaretur*, 'to whom the various prayers were to be offered.'

*faxitis*. See notes on 22. 10. 4, &c.

§ 3. *deque praeda*, &c. The 'que' is explanatory. 'Praeda' is the booty itself; 'manubiae' the money it is sold for; 'spolia' the arms, &c., stripped from the slain.

§ 4. *ex Graeco carmine*, i.e. Greek hexameters.

*interpretata*, 'translated.' The word ought to be active in sense, if it comes from the deponent 'interpretor'; we must therefore suppose a form 'interpreto.'

*his omnibus divis*, the 'divi divaeque' mentioned in the instructions which he had read (§ 1).

§ 5. *iussumque*, sc. 'esse,' if we keep a semi-colon after 'pervenisset.'

- Chap.** § 6. *primo quoque tempore*, 'as early as possible.'
- 11.** § 8. *quorum quattuor consules*. He might have counted five consuls (Scipio, Sempronius, Flaminius, Aemilius, and Varro) and consequently seven generals in all, and seven consular armies. Apparently Sempronius is forgotten.
- § 9. *duos occidisse*. Flaminius and Aemilius.  
*ex duobus*, 'of the two others.'  
*saucium alterum*, Scipio.  
*alterum . . . vix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse*,  
 Varro (22. 49. 14).
- § 10. *quae consularis potestas sit*. 'An officer of consular rank.' It was however uncertain whether a 'magister equitum' was really equal in dignity to a consul.
- unicum haberi imperatorem*, 'was considered (by the Romans) a wonderful general.'
- § 11. *partim Samnitium*. Madvig (Lat. Gram. § 284, obs. 4) says, 'The adverb *partim* is used as a partitive adjective in the nominative and accusative with the genitive or a preposition.'
- § 12. *verum esse*, 'it was right.'

- Chap.** § 1. *Ad fidem*, &c. 'Finally to substantiate the good news.'
- 12.** *qui tantus acervus fuit*, 'which heap was so great,' by so-called attraction for 'which formed so great a heap.'
- § 2. *modio*. The 'modius' is nearly two gallons.  
*atque eorum ipsorum primores*, 'and *only* the highest rank of them,' i.e. says Weissenborn, the 'equites equo publico,' in other words members of the old equestrian centuries.
- § 3. *propius spem*. See on 21. 1. 2 '*propius periculum*.'  
*sit*, sc. Hannibal.
- § 4. *acies*, 'battles.'
- § 5. *supplementum*, 'reinforcements.'  
*in stipendium* refers only to 'pecuniam.'
- § 6. *Secundum haec dicta Magonis*. 'Upon hearing these words of Mago.'
- '*Quid est, Hanno?*' 'Well, Hanno?'
- § 7. *Romanum senatorem*, because Hanno spoke like a partisan of Rome. Cf. '*infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum*' (21. 11. 1).
- § 9. *aut superbus aut obnoxius videar*, &c. 'I should appear to do so either from pride or from servility, from want of respect for him or from want of respect for myself.'
- § 11. *Itaque ista*, &c. 'And therefore these victories so glowingly described by Mago may possibly please me, as they have already pleased Himilco and the rest of Hannibal's following, for successes in'



war, if we have the sense to make the best use of them, will secure us an advantageous peace.' **Chap. 12.**

§ 12. *vereor, ne haec quoque laetitia, &c.* 'I fear that we shall have one more instance of joy first becoming exaggerated and then ending in disappointment.'

§ 13. *Occidi exercitus, &c.* §§ 13 and 14 each contain a supposed request from Hannibal and a supposed answer from Hanno.

§ 15. *Et ne omnia ipse mirer.* Hanno does not wish merely to express his wonder at Hannibal's statements, but definitely to expose what he considers to be their inconsistencies.

*quum ad internecionem, &c.* 'whether, considering that . . . , any Latin people.' Hanno does not of course mean to accept the statement that Rome was ruined by Cannae, or that all Italy was in revolt. In fact, it is just what he wishes to disprove.

§ 16. *ex quinque et triginta tribubus.* Of Rome.

§ 2. *Bellum . . . tam integrum habemus, &c.* Though Hanno's speech is not meant for a historic reality, yet, if we except the ridiculous taunt that a victorious general cannot want reinforcements, it is a fair statement of Hannibal's position. But the deduction to be made was that Hannibal must be plentifully supplied with men and stores from home. None knew better than Hannibal that the army which he had brought from Spain could not by itself conquer Italy. Still, he had hoped for a general rising of the Italians, and for reinforcements from Spain, and he had been disappointed in both these hopes. **Chap. 13.**

§ 3. *priore Punico bello.* Livy ought to have made Hanno say '*priore Romano bello.*'

§ 5. *nec victoribus mitti attinere puto,* 'I think that there is no use in sending them to conquerors.'

§ 6. *nihil, quo vanius fieret gaudium suum,* 'nothing that could shake the grounds of their joy.'

§ 8. *dictatorque.* Madvig says, 'In litteris "dictator" latet numerus et nomen hominis (velut: "DC. Bostarque" aut "D. Carthaloque" similiave).'

*ad conducenda,* 'to raise.'

§ 1. *ut in secundis rebus,* 'as is usually the case in prosperity.'

§ 2. *consul, Varro.*

**Chap. 14.**

*ut equum escendere liceret.* Plutarch mentions this curious custom in his life of Fabius Maximus, with, however, this difference, that he makes him apply to the *Senate* for leave to ride. Plutarch distinctly states that it was for permission to ride at the head of his army that the dictator applied, and Livy's language at least does not contradict this view. Some writers say that the dictator applied for leave to ride in

**Chap. 14.** Rome; but the passage quoted from Zonaras (πλὴν ὅτι μὴ ἐφ' ἵππῳ ἀναβῆναι ὁ δικτάτωρ ἡδύνατο εἰ μὴ ἐκστρατεύεσθαι ἐμελλε) may very well imply that he could not under any circumstances appear on horse-back in the city, and not that he had to ask leave to do so.

*ex agro . . . Gallico.* The land of the dispossessed Senones on the borders of Umbria.

§ 3. *ad ultimum prope*, &c. 'was constrained to have recourse to almost the last measures that an afflicted state adopts, at a time when its dignity has to yield to expediency.'

*capitalem fraudem.* Any offence, condemnation for which involved a loss of *caput*.

*pecuniae iudicati*, 'having had debts proved against them.' Such people, after thirty days' grace, if they could not then pay their debts, became the property of their creditor. Their '*vincula*' were therefore private ones.

*qui eorum.* This second '*qui*' limits the one in the sentence before.

§ 4. *translata erant*, 'had been carried in procession.'

*triumpho C. Flamini.* After his victory over the Insubres, B.C. 223. He had 'triumphed' in opposition to a decree of the Senate (21. 63. 2).

§ 6. *ut non hostiliter statim*, 'for though he did not at once attack them, . . . yet he was resolved, should they be slow in fulfilling his expectations, to do all in his power to force or terrify them into submission.'

§ 7. *plebs novarum ut solet*, &c. 'the popular party was, as usual, altogether on the side of revolution and consequently of Hannibal.'

*animo.* Their own minds, not other people's.

§ 8. *si propalam tenderent*, &c. '(a fear) that if they opposed them openly, it would be impossible to withstand the passions of the mob.'

*secunda simulando*, 'by feigning compliance' (Church and Brodribb).

§ 9. *parum constare*, 'they could not make up their minds.'

§ 10. *Hannibalis*, 'in the possession of Hannibal.'

§ 11. *concedendo*, 'by promising.'

§ 13. *agrum . . . Trebianumque.* It is uncertain whether this Trebia is or is not the same place as the Trebula mentioned in 39. 6. In any case it ought to lie in a triangle having for its apices Saticula, Suessula, and Nola. Unfortunately the position of Saticula is not accurately known.

**Chap. 15.** § 1. *Sub.* 'Just before.'

*proxime Neapolim.* See on 21. 1. 2.

§ 3. *saepe vi saepe sollicitandis*, &c. These are descriptive

ablatives describing the manner of Hannibal's 'circumsessio.' Of course they cannot *logically* depend on 'circumsedisset.' A city cannot be blockaded by storm, far less by intrigue. Translate, 'After he had besieged the city for some time, and had repeatedly tried the effects of storming it, and of negotiations (which proved futile), &c., &c., he at last compelled it to surrender by starvation.'

**Chap.**  
**15.**

§ 4. *ut qui a principio . . . videri vellet*, 'in accordance with his original policy of appearing,' &c.

*praemia atque honores*. Supply 'iis.'

§ 5. *tenuit*, 'could he keep with him.'

*quocunque*, &c. 'To the various cities of Campania (especially Nola and Naples), expecting to find the protection of friends or obeying the merest impulse.'

§ 6. *quod . . . clausissent*, 'for having shut.'

§ 7. *non . . . magis . . . quam*, 'not so much as.'  
*metus*. Nominative.

§ 8. *curatum*. The verb here means 'take care of,' with special reference to medical treatment.

§ 9. *Ob eius gratiam meriti*. 'In his gratitude for this kindness.'

§ 10. *quam hosti ademisse*. We should say, '(to gain for himself a brave ally rather) than merely deprive the enemy of one.'

*appellat*, 'addressed.' The 'ad se' depends on 'accitum,' not on this word.

§ 13. *utique*. Two words here, 'and how.'

§ 14. *senties*. Supply 'eo magis'

§ 15. *bigatos*, *denarii* stamped with a 'biga.' See 22. 52. 2 and 54. 2, where the same coin (with a different stamp) is called 'quadrigatus nummus.' The 'denarius' was worth  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ , so that the present would be equivalent to nearly £18 of our money.

*quaestorem*. A quaestor attended Marcellus as paymaster of his troops, and general manager of the army's finances.

§ 1. *ferocis*. We cannot help feeling that this 'high-spirited' young man still owed Hannibal some return in spite of the gifts of Marcellus. The honourable course for him would have been to remain neutral. Plutarch tells substantially the same story of Fabius as is here told of Marcellus.

**Chap.**  
**16.**

§ 3. *non castris metuens*. His camp was then within the walls of Nola.

*nimis multis in eam imminentibus*, 'to the dangerously large party who were ready and eager for it.'

§ 4. *paucos temere provocantes*, 'the few who challenged the enemy to irregular conflicts.'

**Chap.** § 5. *In hac*, &c. 'When both armies had thus adopted a permanent  
**16.** inaction.'

§ 6. *potentes*, 'having thus become masters.'

§ 8. *calones lizasque*. The former were the soldiers' servants, the latter men following the army for purposes of trade.

*vallum*, 'stakes,' acc. of '*vallus*,' which is often used as a collective noun. Livy (33. 5), copying Polybius (18. 1), describes the Roman '*vallus*' in contrast with the Greek. Of the Roman '*valli*,' each soldier, slinging his shield over his back, could easily carry three or four. Each Roman '*vallus*' had two, three, or at most four branches, and when a stockade was formed, they were planted close together with their branches interlacing, so that it was almost impossible to pull one out, and even if one were pulled out, the gap was hardly perceptible, and could easily be closed up again. On the other hand, a Greek '*vallus*' was large and had many branches. Hence it was difficult to carry, could not be used to form a very close stockade, could therefore be pulled up with comparative ease, and when pulled up left a gap as wide as a gate.

*duabus circa portis*, 'at the two other gates.'

§ 9. *subsidiæque destinata*, &c. 'and the troops intended as a reserve were set to guard the baggage.'

§ 12. *Dum in sua quisque ministeria*, &c. 'While they were all hastily running in every direction to their various posts.'

*signa canere*, 'the bugles to sound the advance.'

§ 13. *quum*. We have already had instances of Livy attaching '*quum*' with sensational effect to the clause introducing a surprise, like an English writer, instead of using it with the preceding clause in the Roman fashion, to prepare us for a surprise.

§ 14. *fecerit*. The subject to this is '*clamor*,' to be supplied from '*clamorem*.'

§ 15. *ausim* is a form of perfect subjunctive.

*quod* is governed by '*auctores sunt*,' which is equivalent to '*narrant*.'

§ 16. *nescio an*, 'as I am inclined to think.' When used in this sense '*nescio an*' is often, as here, parenthetical, and does not affect the construction of the clause into which it is inserted. Livy's observation that this was the most valuable success that was gained in the war, deserves careful attention. No doubt the real turning-point in Rome's favour was the virtual appointment of Marcellus to the supreme command (see 22. 57. 1).

*vincentibus*. Madvig marks the word as corrupt. Wölfflin thinks that Livy wrote merely '*tunc*,' which became corrupted into '*uinc*' ('*vinc*'), and that this, not being understood, was altered to '*vincentibus*.'

§ 2. *securi percussit*, 'he beheaded.'

§ 3. *supra Suessulam*, 'on the heights above Suessula.'

§ 5. *continuarentur*. Subjunctive, because the people of Acerra chose the time when the Carthaginian lines were not finished.

*per intermissa munimenta*, 'through the gaps in the enemy's lines.'

§ 6. *per vias inviaque*. Cf. 21. 33. 4 'per diversis rupibus iuxta invia ac devia.'

§ 7. *nimis accipi* is almost certainly corrupt. Madvig suggests 'venire Numidae citi.'

§ 9. *Hi*. 'Quum' begins the sentence grammatically. Otherwise it is anacoluthic, 'avertit eos retro,' &c. being put for 'iter retro Casilinum verterunt, nuntio Cannensis pugnae allato.'

*ad diem*, 'by the appointed day.'

§ 10. *Campanis*, the Campanians of Casilinum.

*timentesque*. Supply 'Campanos.'

*oppidanis*, i. e. the disaffected garrison.

§ 11. *Perusina cohors*. Perugia (Perugia) was in Etruria on the borders of Umbria, east of Lake Trasimenum.

§ 12. *altera parte*, 'on one side.'

*penuria frumenti*, &c. 'indeed, the shortness of provisions made the force seem, if anything, too large.' This is not said without humour on Livy's part.

§ 1. *primo*. This is to be taken with 'verbis benignis . . . pellicere,' and there should in strictness be some word answering to it (e. g. 'deinde') placed before 'si in pertinacia.' Chap. 18.

§ 2. *solitudo visa*, 'the place appeared deserted.'

*metuque concessum barbarus ratus*, 'and the African thinking that they had abandoned the town through fear.'

§ 3. *ad id ipsum*, 'for that very purpose.'

§ 5. *corona*, of men.

*et promptissimum quemque*. These words define 'aliquot milites.'

*e muro turribusque*, 'by missiles from the wall,' &c.

§ 6. *ultra erumpentes*, see on 21. 1. 3. It would have been quite enough to have resisted Hannibal, but the besieged *actually* attacked him.

*agmine elephatorum*. Perhaps twenty of the 'quadraginta elephanti,' mentioned in 13. 7, were at once sent to Hannibal; for in 32. 5 we find that Mago has only twenty elephants to bring. All but one of the elephants that Hannibal originally brought to Italy had died.

*opposito*. He cannot actually have placed his elephants between them and the city, for, if so, he would have succeeded in cutting them

**Chap.** off, but he must have tried to effect this manœuvre. 'Agmine elephantorum opposito' must therefore be taken closely with 'prope interclusit,'  
**18.** ut ex tanta paucitate, 'considering their small numbers.'

§ 7. utique, 'especially.'

corona aurea muralis. This reads like a careless addition of Livy's or at least an inaccurate account of what Hannibal really offered his soldiers. The 'golden mural crown' was a Roman decoration, given to the man who first scaled the walls of a besieged town.

§ 8. cuniculi. 'Agi' must be taken in a slightly different sense with this word, from that in which it is taken with 'vineae.'

§ 9. Propugnacula, 'screens.'

§ 10. bonis. It is hard to determine the case of this word. 'Inexpertum' should take an ablative, 'insuetum' a dative. Probably 'bonis' is dative, though Livy may perhaps never have thought the question out.

ex insolentia, 'after not being used to them.'

§ 12. consuetudine in dies blandius, 'which daily grew more alluring, as it became more familiar.' The soldiers, like every man who has a holiday, would at first have missed their accustomed labours.

§ 13. ex Cannensi acie protinus, 'straight from the field of Cannae.'  
 videri potuit, 'might have seemed.'

hic error. Supply 'visus est,' not 'videri potuit.'

§ 14. tenuit, 'he was able to keep up.'

§ 15. ubi primum sub pellibus haberi coepti sunt, 'directly that they began to be kept under canvas' (lit. 'under skins'); i. e. as soon as they left their winter-quarters in Capua.

via, 'marching.'

excepit, 'followed.'

§ 16. sine com meatibus, 'without leave of absence.'

**Chap.** § 2. ab oppugnatione cessatum erat, 'there had been a pause  
**19.** from active siege operations.'

§ 3. Castris Romanis. We cannot tell for certain where this was, though the events related in this chapter tell us approximately. Apparently Junius had advanced from Casinum (17. 7) to some place not far from Casilinum.

Ti. Sempronius. He was master of the horse.

auspiciorum repetendorum causa. This means that Junius had been unsuccessful against Hannibal, and had consequently remembered some ill-omened occurrence that happened at the time of his nomination or of his leaving the city. Accordingly he goes back to take the auspices afresh, in hopes of making a new start with better luck.

§ 4. et ipsum cupientem, 'who also desired' (i. e. as well as Junius and Sempronius, though Livy has not told us that they wished to relieve Casilinum).

§ 5. *omnem patientiam*, 'the most determined inaction.'

§ 6. *et stare*, 'and that men were standing.'

§ 8. *ad magistratum Casilinum*, 'to Casilinum, to the governor,'  
or, as we say, 'to the governor at Casilinum.'

§ 9. *medio missa amni*, 'which had been launched in mid-stream.'  
'Amni' is ablative, as in 12.

§ 11. *transverso vertice*, 'by a cross eddy.'  
*servabant*, 'were guarding.'

§ 13. *lora*, 'thongs.'  
*aggeribus infimis muri*, 'at the bottom of the walls.'

§ 14. *terreni* is a substantive here.  
*raporum semen*, 'turnip seed.'

§ 16. *Septunces*. 'Seven ounces.'  
*remissi*, to the Roman camp.

§ 17. *verius*, 'more probable.'  
*praetore suo*. Not the governor of Casilinum, but a man now  
chosen to command the Praenestines.

*scriba*, 'a public notary.'

§ 18. *et tria signa*, which the editors bracket, cannot well be rejected,  
unless we suppose that M. Anicius set up a statue to himself. For  
'statua' must be a statue of Anicius, because 'eius' cannot be taken  
with 'indicio,' Latin usage requiring 'eius rei indicium,' for 'a proof of  
this.'

§ 1. *redditum Campanis est*. The people of Casilinum had all  
along been inclined to Hannibal, and in possession of half the city. Chap.  
20.

§ 2. *non mutaverunt, sc. civitatem*. They would not change their  
citizenship, but preferred to remain citizens of Praeneste.

§ 3. *casus*. Genitive.

§ 4. *ob separata ab se consilia*, 'for not having made common  
cause with them.'

§ 6. *M. Aemilio praetore*. There was no praetor of this name,  
elected for B.C. 216, at least not if Livy is correct in 22. 35, and none  
of the praetors had died except Postumius, and his death was not yet  
known (see ch. 24). Marcellus was in Campania, Furius had gone  
to Sicily, Pomponius, as we find in ch. 24, was still in Rome, and  
Postumius had gone to Gaul. Possibly Aemilius had been appointed as  
propraetor to discharge the duties of the absent Furius.

*nihil iam longinquis sociis in se praesidii esse*, 'that they  
had no longer any power to protect distant allies.'

*fideque ad ultimum expleta, &c.* 'to do all that loyalty required  
of them, and then do what they could for themselves in such an emer-  
gency.'

§ 7. *renuntiata legatio*. Cf. 6. 3.

- Chap. 20.** § 8. *dedendi*, i.e. 'se.'  
 § 10. *Relata postero die*, &c. 'The subject was more calmly discussed the next day, and the aristocratical party carried their proposal to bring all property from the country into the town, and strengthen their city and its walls.'

- Chap. 21.** § 1. *T. Otacilii propraetoris*. He had been praetor of Sicily in 217, and had his office prolonged, since a successor was not at once sent to take his place.

§ 2. *P. Furium praetorem*. He had been originally appointed as 'praetor urbanus' (22. 35. 5), but was sent to Sicily in place of Marcellus (22. 57. 8), when the latter, who had been appointed 'praetor of Sicily' at the time of his election (22. 35. 6), went to take the command against Hannibal. Livy has given us no account of Furius' campaign. We only know that he went to aid Otacilius when Sicily was threatened by two Carthaginian fleets (22. 56. 6-8, and 57. 8).

*ipsum*, Furius.

*ad diem*, 'on the appointed day.'

§ 3. *suadere*, 'tried to persuade,' i.e. 'urged' or 'advised.'

§ 4. *A. Cornelio Mammula propraetore*. The reader will have observed that in the election of praetors for B.C. 216, as related in 22. 35, no praetor was appointed for Sardinia. Mammula then had probably been appointed praetor of Sardinia for B.C. 217, his office having subsequently been 'prorogatum in annum.' This would accord with the spirit of 'in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus' (22. 35 end).

§ 5. *mensum*. This form is not very uncommon.

*contulerunt*, absol. 'contributed.'

§ 6. *argenti triumviri mensarii*, 'three state-bankers.' They were appointed to lend money from the treasury to private individuals.

§ 7. *demortui*, clearly by a natural death.

- Chap. 22.** § 3. *post L. Aemilium*, &c. 'Since the censorship of L. Aemilius, &c.,' i.e. since B.C. 220. As the censors were elected only once in every five years (and not always so often as that), Livy does not mean that there was anything extraordinary in there having been no censors since Aemilius and Flaminius, but merely that as a matter of fact some time had elapsed since the last revision of the Senate. The Aemilius is the L. Aemilius Papus mentioned in § 6 of the last chapter.

*senatus lectus fuerat*. The Censors' power at this time 'legendi senatum' was limited by the Ovinian law, which bound them to include on the senatorial roll all men who had held curule offices, that is, everyone who had been consul, praetor, or curule aedile, provided that such



a man had not done anything disgraceful which disqualified him from being a senator. As a rule, then, nearly all such ex-magistrates would naturally become senators, but their number would not come up to three hundred, and the Censors had to bring the Senate up to that strength by electing other worthy and distinguished citizens, chiefly, no doubt, those who had held such offices as the tribunate, the plebeian aedileship, and the quaestorship (§ 23. 6). Sulla, by attaching to the quaestorship a right of entry to the Senate, practically abolished the censorship.

ad hoc sui quemque casus, 'besides personal calamities,' or, as we should say, 'natural deaths.'

§ 4. *M. Aemilius praetor*. See on 20. 6.

dictatore, &c. This is added to explain why the dictator himself did not bring the matter before the Senate.

inopiam, not 'neediness,' but 'scarcity.'

paucitatem . . . civium ex quibus, &c. 'the small number of citizens from whom elections could be made into the Senate.' Probably the censors were required to select new citizens only from ex-magistrates or *equites*.

§ 5. *demortuorum*, 'those who had died off,' here, by any kind of death.

§ 6. *ipsorum quondam postulatum Latinorum*. Cf. 6. 8, and see 8. 5. 5.

§ 7. *virum*, 'a man,' meaning himself.

consul. His name was Titus Manlius. His threat is given in 8. 5. 7 'T. Manlium . . . qui adeo non tenuit iram, ut, si tanta dementia patres conscriptos cepisset, ut ab Setino homine' (the Latin envoy was a native of Setia), 'leges acciperent, gladio cinctum in senatum venturum se esse palam diceret et, quemcunque in curia Latinum vidisset, sua manu interempturum.' The Latin envoy Lucius Annius had said 'consulem alterum Roma, alterum ex Latio creari oportet, senatus partem aequam ex utraque gente esse, unum populum, unam rem publicam fieri.'

§ 8. *alieniore tempore*, 'at a more unseasonable time.'

quam inter tam, &c. 'than that suggestion which must still more unsettle the allies, made, as it was, when they were undecided in their minds and wavering in their allegiance.'

§ 9. *si quid unquam*, &c. 'if there ever had been any secret in the Senate-house so solemn that it must never be breathed.' The use of 'ad silendum' after the unqualified words 'arcani sanctive' is curious.

§ 10. *accirique C. Terentium consulem*. When possible, the consul came to Rome in person to appoint a dictator. Notice that the consul, and not Junius the dictator, is sent for, because none but a consul could nominate a dictator.

**Chap. 22.** § 11. *ex Apulia*. Livy had not told us that Varro had gone back thither.

*nocte . . . ut mos erat*. Notice this.

**Chap. 23.** § 2. *iterum*, 'for a second time.'

§ 3. *Quae immoderata fors*an, &c. 'A power, which the present crisis had, perhaps inevitably, made absolute, he was resolved to limit.'

§ 4. *transcribi . . . recitari*que, 'to be written down and read out.' *ne*, depends not on 'iussurum,' but on the whole of the preceding sentence, in which 'tantum' is emphatic. Translate, 'so as to avoid being sole judge on the reputation and character of a senator.'

§ 6. *civicam coronam*. This crown, given to a soldier who saved the life of a Roman citizen in battle, was one of the highest military decorations in the Roman army.

§ 7. *centum septuaginta septem*. These were all new members.

§ 8. *cura*, 'interest.'

**Chap. 24.** § 1. *M. Pomponio praetore*, 'peregrino.'  
ad consules subrogandos, 'to hold the consular elections.'

§ 3. *gloriae*. Livy has told us nothing about these military operations.

*L. Postumius*. We saw in 22. 35 that he was sent as praetor to Gaul.

*tertium*, being used in a technical sense, is placed immediately after the name of Postumius. It is, of course, not to be taken with 'absens.'

§ 5. *in annum*, 'for the year,' i.e. 'for his year of office' (A.D. 215).

§ 6. *Quum eae res maxime agerentur*. 'Just at the time of these transactions.'

*consulem designatum*, 'the consul elect.'

§ 7. *Litanam Galli vocabant*. This forest is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Mutina.

*Eius silvae* depends on 'arbores.'

*ut immotae starent*, &c. 'that they would stand, if not shaken, while a slight push was enough to make them fall.'

§ 9. *extremas*, 'the last.'

*alia in aliam*. Each tree would bring its neighbour down with it, and so on.

*incipiti strage*, 'with falling masses from both sides.'

§ 10. *obsesso*, 'having been occupied.' We should have expected merely 'obsessum ante ab hostibus,' instead of 'obsesso . . . ponte,' but, as Weissenborn remarks, Livy wishes to make it clear that the enemy occupied the bridge when the Romans had already started for it.

§ 12. *Purgato*. 'Having cleansed' (i.e. cleaned the brains out).

calvum auro caelavere, apparently means that they set the brain-pan in ornamental gold. **Chap. 24.**

sollemnibus, 'at the festivals.'

\ idem, translate 'also.' Of course it agrees with 'id.'

§ 13. per omnem iacentis, &c. 'throughout the whole column of the fallen army.'

§ 1. tabernis clausis, &c. 'since all shops were shut and the stillness of night reigned throughout the city.' **Chap. 25.**

§ 2. Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit, 'Tiberius Sempronius convoked the Senate,' not as being consul elect, which would give him no such power, but as being Master of the Horse. In the absence of the dictator the Magister Equitum was supreme.

§ 3. ad minores calamitates, 'before lesser misfortunes.' modo, 'if only.'

§ 4. ultionemque eam fraudis. We should have expected 'eius.' consultandum atque agitandum, 'they must reflect and deliberate.'

§ 6. a peritis, &c. 'inquiry was made of persons who had accurate information to give.'

nec, unde, &c. 'they could not, however, think of any means by which two consular armies could be raised, strong enough for so severe a war.' For 'rationem inire,' cf. 48. 5.

§ 8. nullo praestituto, &c. 'without having any term other than that of their regular number of campaigns prescribed for their service there,' i.e. they were to serve in Sicily till they had completed their full number of years, which was twenty for a foot-soldier, and ten for a horseman. The disgraced soldiers of Cannae, however, had to serve beyond their 'legitimate' time, if the war in Italy should continue so long. ('Stipendium' in the sense of 'campaign' is common.)

§ 9. qui . . . suffectus esset, 'who should be appointed.'

salvis auspiciis, i.e. there must be a decent delay before the election of a consul in Postumius' stead. To elect one too soon after his death would be ill-omened, consequently the new consul might very possibly be 'vitio creatus.'

§ 10. primo quoque tempore, 'as early as possible.'

acciri, sumere, and in § 11 'prorogari' and 'minui,' all depend on 'placuit,' in § 9.

opus, here a predicate.

§ 1. nihilo segnius, i.e. than the war in Italy, as is shown by 'sed . . . magis prosperum Romanis.' **Chap. 26.**

ad eam diem, 'up to that time.'

§ 2. Gnaeus, sometimes written 'Cneius,' or 'Cnaeus,' hence the abbreviation 'Cn.'

**Chap.  
26.**

*neutri parti virium.* Neither to his army nor his navy, the meaning of 'neutri' being defined by the context.

*procul ab hoste, &c.* 'kept himself safe by encamping at a distance from the enemy, and in strong positions.'

*multum ac diu obtestanti.* Notice the remissness of the Carthaginian home government.

§ 4. *perculit*, 'discouraged.'

*praefectorum navium*, 'his ships' captains' (Church and Brodribb).

*post classem . . . desertam*, 'after abandoning the fleet.' See 22. 19. 11-12.

*deinde*, 'subsequently.'

*Carthaginiensium rebus*, 'the Carthaginian cause.'

§ 5. *Tartesium*. The people of the Baetis (Guadalquivir) basin. *ab ipsis*, by the Tartesii.

§ 6. *ab*, 'from,' not 'by.'

*pro captae, &c.* 'before the walls of the city that had been captured a few days before.'

§ 8. *undique*, 'from all sides.'

§ 10. *et ipse*. He had now to take a strong place, as Chalus had before. (Weissenborn.)

§ 11. *In hoc alterno pavore, &c.* 'Though both sides thus in turn declined battle, yet some skirmishes took place.'

*caetrato*, 'to the Spanish targeteer.'

**Chap.  
27.**

§ 1. *obversati castris*, 'by constantly appearing before their camp.'

§ 2. *nec iam aut in agmine, &c.* 'and from that time no authority could preserve discipline among them, either on the march or in camp.'

§ 3. *ut fit*, 'as is so often the case.'

*palatos sine signis hostes*, 'the straggling and disordered enemy.'

*ad castra*, i.e. of the enemy.

§ 5. *sine signo*, 'without the signal for battle being given.'

*catervatim*. Sall. Jug. 97. 4. 'Equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie nequē ullo more proeli, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurrunt.' The word 'caterva' is rarely used of Roman troops. Hence it and its derivatives suggest want of order and discipline.

§ 6. *deinde rari, &c.* 'then finding that they ran a great risk from attacking the close masses of the enemy in such small numbers.' For the structure of the whole sentence down to 'caeduntur' in § 7, cf. 22. 20, §§ 7, 8, 9.

§ 7. *dum corpora corporibus, &c.* 'man pressed against man, and shield locked with shield.' Below 'armis' means 'swords.'

§ 9. *mansit*, sc. 'gens.'  
*allatum est*, 'orders came.'

§ 10. *inde*, 'from Spain.'

§ 12. *ut*, 'even if.'

*non . . . otiosam . . . fore*, 'would be no sinecure' (Stocker's Livy).

§ 2. *cum exercitu*, &c. 'with an army up to, and a fleet beyond, the usual strength.' Chap.  
28.

§ 3. *per dubios*, &c. 'showing as much vigilance when passing through doubtful, as when passing through hostile, tribes.'

§ 4. *nulla re quam*, &c. 'owing his safety almost entirely to his quickness, for, before any attack could be planned, he was gone.'

*undique*, 'from each place.'

§ 5. *transitus quosdam pretio mercatum*, &c. 'had on some occasions bought a free passage, and had only obtained soldiers from the Gauls by hiring them, while, if he had started on his long march with an empty chest, he would hardly have reached the Alps.'

§ 7. *perlata*, 'announced.'

§ 9. *contrahunt copias*. This implies that Publius had disembarked some of his men. (See 26. 2.)

*utrum castra castris conferrent*. 'Castra,' the Roman camp, 'castris,' the Carthaginian.

*an satis haberent . . . morari*, 'or be contented with keeping.'

§ 10. *Hiberam*. Nothing further is known of this place.

§ 11. *pro*, 'instead of.'

*urbem*, 'a city.' Not of course Hibera.

§ 1. *nec sine levibus proeliis*, &c. 'not without skirmishes, but without any offer of a general battle.' Chap.  
29.

§ 2. *descensum est*. The camps were probably on slight eminences.

§ 3. *Triplex*, 'in three lines' (of *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*).

*inter antesignanos*, 'between the maniples of the *hastati*.' See note on 22. 5, 7.

§ 4. *mercenariorumque*. Probably these were also Spaniards and Numidians, but they were serving for hire, and not, like their countrymen specified by name, as subjects.

§ 5. *sed quibus . . . mos erat*, 'but only those who were accustomed.' *desultorum*. Circus riding was known from very early times.

Cf. Hom. Il. 15. 679:—

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἵπποισι κελητίζειν εὖ εἰδώς,  
ὅστ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πολέων πίσυρας συναίρεται ἵππους,  
σεύας ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγα προτὶ ἄστυ δίηται,  
λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδὸν πολέες τέ εἰ θήσαντο

Chap.  
29.

ἀνέρες, ἥδὲ γυναῖκες· ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πέτονται.

binos trahentibus equos, must mean 'riding one horse and leading another.' Cf. 35. 28. 8 'quos Tarentinos vocabant equites, binos secum trahentes equos.'

equorum genus est, 'is their breed of horses.'

§ 6. ne . . . quidem does not here mean 'not even,' but 'not . . . indeed,' or, in more usual English, 'not.'

genere, 'character' (Church and Brodribb). militibus. Before his word supply 'sed.'

§ 7. in eo discrimine pugnae verteretur, 'depended on the issue of that battle.'

§ 10. Nihilo segnius, 'none the less stubborn' (than usual), i.e. none the less stubborn on account of the want of spirit shown by the Carthaginian centre.

et velut in circumventos, 'attacking them on both flanks as if they had surrounded them.' They would have surrounded them had not the Romans driven back the outflanking troops, as is described in the next paragraph.

§ 12. Utroque, sc. proelio.

§ 14. Equestris pugna, &c. 'There was no engagement between the cavalry at all.'

simul is equivalent to 'simul atque.'

§ 15. usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae, 'until the battle was hopelessly lost.'

§ 16. non modo for 'non modo non.'

tuto. Adverb.

§ 17. laetabantur, sc. Romani.

Chap.  
30.

§ 3. strictis, 'stripped from trees.'

§ 6. omnis aetatis, 'counting people of every age.' Weissenborn says that only males are meant.

§ 7. a defensoribus vasta, 'empty of defenders.'

arx tantum retenta. We learn from 24. 3. 3 that 'arx procul eis, quae habitabantur, sex millia aberat.'

§ 9. tantummodo regionis eius. Livy here constructs a genitive with 'tantummodo' just as if he had written 'soli.'

in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suae, 'loyal to the Romans and masters of their city.'

§ 11. maximus stirpis. Hiero's eldest son.

§ 12. movissetque . . . res, 'would have caused a revolution.'

socios probably means 'the allies of Rome,' i.e. the Syracusans.

§ 13. quam dictator vovisset, 'which he had vowed in his dictatorship.' (See 22. 10. 10.)

§ 14. *Senatus decrevit*. Notice the complex legal machinery which the Senate has to set going in order to make Fabius 'duumvir,' but notice also that the working of the machinery was (at this time) extremely good, so that the Senate was virtually absolute. We learn from 31. 9 that Fabius' colleague was T. Otacilius Crassus (also mentioned in 22. 10. 10). Apparently only one of 'duumviri' accomplished the actual dedication of any particular temple. Cf. 34. 53. 5 'Aedem Fortunae Primigeniae . . . dedicavit Q. Marcius Ralla, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus.'

**Chap.  
30.**

§ 15. *M. Aemilio Lepido*, 'in honour of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.' *bis* belongs to 'consul' only, not to 'augur,' and the same applies to 'qui his consul censorque fuerat,' in § 18. A man could only be censor once (this was enacted by the law of C. Marcius Rutilus B.C. 265), and the augurs were chosen for life.

§ 16. *per triduum instaurati* means the same as 'ter instaurati,' 'were repeated on three days.'

§ 17. *M. Claudii Marcelli*, *not* the praetor of that name, with whom the fact of Sempronius being Magister Equitum and aedile is no argument for identifying him. For the mastership of the horse was an extraordinary office, and so an aedile might be 'Magister Equitum,' though he could not be praetor.

§ 18. *circumacto*, 'having been brought to a close.'

*sortem* is equivalent to 'provinciam.'

*sortiti sunt*, 'obtained by lot.'

§ 19. *M. Marcello*, &c. They could not even yet invest him with the consulship 'salvis auspiciis' (25. 9), and so he is made proconsul.

*pro consule*, for 'ut pro consule esset' (Weissenborn).

§ 1. *tributum*, 'property tax.' This was usually  $\frac{1}{16}$  per cent. It was now to be  $\frac{1}{8}$  per cent.

**Chap.  
31.**

§ 2. *simplex confestim exigeretur*, 'of which one half was to be raised at once.'

*stipendium praesens*, 'the pay that was due to them.'

*qui milites ad Cannas fuissent*. These were disgraced, and had to serve without pay.

§ 3. *duabus legionibus urbanis*. They are mentioned in 25. 9 as destined for the consul, who was to be elected in Postumius' place. Their being given to Marcellus shows that there was at this time no doubt that he was to be consul.

*inde*. From Cales.

*supra Suessulam*, 'on the heights above Suessula.' Cf. 17. 3.

§ 5. *in castra Claudiana*. This then must have been a recognised name for Marcellus' camp; otherwise Livy would have written in this section 'in castra sua.'

**Chap.** § 6. *veterem exercitum*. Marcellus' old army.

**31.** § 7. *exspectaverant . . . uti*, 'waited for (the consul to hold, &c.).' Sometimes 'exspecto ut' means 'I expect that.' 'Exspecto dum,' with the subjunctive, has the same meanings.

§ 8. *Utrumque . . . e re publica fuit*. Sempronius means, 'No time could be lost in sending Marcellus to Campania; therefore I did not keep him back for the comitia. On the other hand, as we all rightly wish Marcellus to be consul, I shall not hold the comitia until he returns.'

*ut vos consulem*, 'so that you might have for consul a man such as the crisis demanded, the very man whom you wish to be elected.' Notice the very different force of the imperf. subj. 'postularet,' and the pres. ind. 'vultis.'

§ 9. *Menti Otacilius*. He had vowed this temple in his praetorship (22. 10. 10). We have not been told that he had returned to Rome. In chap. 21 he was spoken of as being still in Sicily, but anxious to be relieved.

§ 10. *trecentis equitibus Campanis*. Mentioned in 4. 8 and 7. 2. In 4. 8 they are described as 'nobilissimus quisque Campanorum.' Therefore, being of the aristocratical party in Capua, they were on the side of Rome.

*ut cives Romani essent*. In B.C. 340 the Roman citizenship had been granted to all Capuan equites (8. 11. 16), but apparently they had lost the right by the revolt of Capua. This right was now to be restored to them. Further, to show that they had had no participation whatever in the revolt, they were to be regarded as having at the time of the revolt been citizens, not of the faithless Capua, but of the faithful Cumae.

*municipes*. A 'municipium' was governed by its own laws, but was subject to Rome.

§ 11. *hoc*. That they should be made 'municipes' of Cumae.

*vetere patria, Capua. eam in quam redierant*, Rome.

§ 13. *Cui ineunti consulatum*. Notice the dative (*incommodi*). It thundered not merely when Marcellus was entering on his office, but thundered at him, i.e. the thunder was sent to him as a warning of evil. If the augurs had not pronounced him 'vitio creatum,' he might very possibly have subsequently come to the conclusion that his auspices were faulty, and therefore have returned to Rome ad 'repetenda auspicia,' especially if he found himself unsuccessful against Hannibal.

*quod tum primum duo plebei*. Mommsen (Rom. Hist. English Translation, vol. i. p. 308) says: 'To understand rightly the history of Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries,' (i.e. A.U.C.) 'we must never overlook this sulking patricianism; it could indeed do little more than irritate itself and others, but this it did to the best of its ability.' See



also 22. 34. and notes. Clearly the patrician jealousy of the plebeians was not altogether extinct even at this time, a century and a half after the Licinian rogations. The Claudii Marcelli were plebeians, and must not be confused with the patrician Claudii (the Pulchri and Neroni). N.B. 'tum primum' must be taken as explanatory and parenthetical. The gods did not like having two plebeian consuls, and this was the first time that such a thing had occurred.

**Chap.  
31.**

§ 14. *suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium*, 'Quintus Fabius Maximus was elected, and thus entered upon his third consulship.' A consul elected to fill the place of another who had died or resigned was called 'consul suffectus.' Cf. 22. 25. 11 'Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset.' Marcellus was himself 'in locum L. Postumii suffectus,' 25. 9.

§ 15. *ad Junonis Sospitae*, 'at the temple of Juno Sospita.'

§ 1. *volones*. 'Volones dicti sunt milites, qui post Cannensem cladem usque ad octo millia, quum essent servi, voluntarie se ad militiam obtulerunt.' Their enrolment is mentioned in 22. 57. 11.

**Chap.  
32.**

*ibi*, i. e. Teani.

§ 2. *M. Valerio praetori*. He was praetor peregrinus (30. 18). *legiones quae ex Sicilia redissent*. These were two legions (25. 10).

*praesideret*, 'protected.' Subj. because the words of the decree are given.

*praetores*. Appius Claudius Pulcher and Quintus Mucius Scaevola (30. 18).

§ 3. *quoties in Senatum vocassent*. The words refer not to 'edixerunt' but to 'convenirent,' and grammatically come *after* 'uti.'

*quibusque in Senatu, &c.* A usual formula, probably meaning those who had held curule offices since the last census, and were therefore qualified to be senators and acted as such without having been formally enrolled. As the Senate had just been 'lectus' by Fabius Buteo, there would now be very few, if any, persons thus qualified, who were not formally enrolled senators.

§ 4. *Praetores, quorum iurisdictio erat*. 'Those praetors to whom the administration of justice belonged,' i. e. the praetor urbanus and the praetor peregrinus.

*Piscinam publicam*, 'the public Pond,' i. e. 'the Bathing Pond.' This pond had disappeared in the time of Festus (fourth century A.D.).

*eo*. People were to come *thither* and find bail.

*vadimonia fieri*, 'bail to be found.' The defendant was said 'vadimonium facere,' when he promised before the praetor to appear

**Chap. 32.** on the day fixed for trying the case. The promise was given with or without (usually with) sureties (*vades*).

§ 5. *Mago*. He appears not to have gone to Spain, though he was ordered to go there (13. 8). The Carthaginian government perhaps altered its plans on despatching Himilco (28. 2).

§ 7. *Erant, qui Magonem, &c.* 'Some advised Mago to go to Spain instead of Italy, with . . .'

*Sardiniae recipiendae*, 'of recovering Sardinia.' For the means by which the Romans had obtained possession of this island, see Introduction.

§ 9. *acerbe atque avare imperatum*. For the expression, cf. 21. 1. 3 'quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse.'

*collatione iniqua frumenti* means 'by excessive forced contributions of corn.' Livy means this for a misrepresentation on the part of Mago's advisers. See 21. 5, for what he considers to be the real facts of the case.

*auctorem*, a leader.

§ 10. *per principes*, 'by the leading men.'

§ 14. *militibus*. The '*volones*' and '*socii*' mentioned in § 1.

*ut* depends on '*edixit*,' to be understood with *Q. Fabius*. Notice '*consulto prius senatu*.'

*ante calendas Iunias primas*, 'before the first day of next June.'

§ 15. *qui non invexisset*. This sentence depends on '*edixit*,' as a verb of saying.

*sub hasta*, 'by auction.'

*ne praetoribus quidem*. (See on 32. 4.) So also last year *Furius*, the praetor urbanus, had been despatched to Sicily.

§ 16. *Tarentum*. This town was now in the hands of the Romans, and the statement in 22. 61. 12 that it went over to Hannibal was anticipatory.

§ 19. *conquisitionem*, 'a special levy' (raised in a particular district for the defence of that district).

§ 20. *cum imperio*. He was doubtless sent '*propraetore*' as before.

**Chap. 33.** § 1. *opulentissimorum*, 'most powerful.'

§ 3. *ut bello inter Romanum, &c.* 'though he rejoiced at the outbreak of war between Rome and Carthage, yet, while it was still doubtful which nation was the stronger, was unable to make up his mind which he hoped would be victorious.'

§ 4. *Postquam tertia iam pugna*. Supply 'had been fought.'  
*ad fortunam inclinavit*, 'he decided to join the winning side.'

*Laciniae Iunonis*. So called from the promontory of Lacinium, south of Croton. From 24. 3 we gather that the temple and its grove were within the old, though without the present limits of the town. . .

§ 6. **Xenophanes.** He was an Athenian, according to Polybius 7. 9. **Chap. 33.**  
*mandata*, 'messages.'

§ 9. *qua proximum fuit.* Cf. 21. 5. 12 'qua cuique proximum est.'

*castra Hannibalis.* See 36. 1.

§ 10. *ducentas autem naves*, &c. 'it seemed that he meant to raise one of two hundred sail.' This was no doubt discovered from the examination of the Macedonian envoys after their final capture as related in the next chapter.

*pro parte sua*, 'to the best of his power.'

§ 11. *cederet*, 'should fall.'

§ 12. *bellumque cum quibus*, &c. Condensed for 'bellumque cum iis, cum quibus regi placeret bellum gerere, gererent.'

*quae civitates . . . vergunt*, 'the states which lie.' The pres. indicative is used because the description is Livy's. He gives us a general expression for a number of places mentioned by name in the treaty. In this treaty, as given in Polybius 7. 9, it is stated, that if peace is made with Rome it is to be on the condition, among others, *μηδ' εἶναι Ῥωμαίους κυρίους Κερκυραίων μηδ' Ἀπολλωνιατῶν καὶ Ἐπιδαρνίων μηδὲ Φάρου μηδὲ Διμάλης καὶ Παρθηνῶν μηδ' Ἀττιντανίας.*

§ 2. *ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem.* Lit. 'to make binding the promise of the king himself' (as well as that of his envoys), i.e. 'to administer the oaths to the king also.' **Chap. 34.**

*eodem*, 'to the same place,' namely, the temple of Juno of Lacinium.

§ 3. *quum altum tenerent*, &c. It would, as we have seen, been quite in Livy's style to write 'iam altum tenebant, quum.'

§ 4. **Valerius Flaccus.** Not to be confused with M. Valerius Laevinus who was at Luceria. Flaccus was probably this praetor's legate.

*cercuros*, *κερκούρους*, 'cutters.'

*praefectum classis*, viz. Valerius Flaccus.

§ 5. *satis iam semel felix mendacium*, 'the lie which had already proved so successful.'

§ 6. *cultus habitusque*, 'dress and appearance.'

§ 7. *quoque*, i.e. besides the discovery of the nationality of Gisco and his comrades.

§ 9. *quinque naves.* As one envoy was to be put into each ship, we may gather that there was one Greek envoy besides Xenophanes, so as to make, with the three Carthaginians, five altogether.

§ 10. **A. Cornelius Mammula.** He had been serving in Sardinia 'propraetore,' none of the praetors of 216 B.C. having been appointed to that province. See note on 21. 4.

**Chap.** § 11. *Q. Mucium*, &c. 'that his successor *Q. Mucius*, had on arriving  
**34.** found both the climate and the waters unhealthy, and had been seized by a very tedious, though not dangerous, illness, which would for a long time make him unable to conduct military operations.'

§ 12. *pacatae*, 'peaceful.'

§ 14. *mitteretque cum imperio*, i.e. as '*legatus propraetore*.' *Fulvius* being praetor urbanus (30. 18), could not absent himself from Rome for more than ten days at a time, hence he could not go to Sardinia in person, though he could find time '*ad suburbana litora tutanda*.'

§ 15. *bis*, with '*consul*' only as in 30. 15 and 18.

*subegeratque in consulatu Sardos*. In B.C. 235. 'The Sardinians had revolted after their annexation by Rome. Cf. 21. 16. 4.'

§ 16. *Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat*. The reader must have been already struck with the paucity of names among the Carthaginians. No doubt '*cognomina*' served to distinguish the various Hasdrubals, Hannos, and Magos.

**Chap.** § 1. *partis alterius*. The Romans.

**35.** § 2. *Campani*. Here 'the Capuans.'

*adorti sunt*, 'attempted.'

§ 3. *Campanis*, here 'Campanians,' but '*Senatum Campanum*' is 'the Capuan senate.'

*ad Hamas*. The position of this place is not exactly known. We find from § 13 that it was three miles from Cumae, probably to the north of it.

§ 5. *exercitu lustrato*, 'having purified and reviewed his army.' All Roman armies were 'purified' before they began a campaign, and were reviewed at the same time.

§ 6. *decurrere*, 'to practice manœuvres.'

*ea maxima pars* is equivalent to '*eorum maxima pars*.' Of them (the recruits) the greater part consisted of the slave-volunteers.'

§ 7. *itaque* can hardly mean 'and in like manner,' but must mean 'and consequently,' while we must supply 'to the same effect' from the context, taking '*itaque . . . praeceperat*' as parenthetical.

*ordines*. Here 'classes,' not 'ranks.'

§ 8. *ducerent*, 'they were to consider, he said.'

*quae fortuna*, 'the exigencies which had forced them to take this measure, now forced them to uphold it.'

§ 9. *brevique*, 'and soon.'

§ 11. *triduo post eum diem festum esse*, 'that that day of festival was three days afterwards.'

§ 13. *Campanis*. Here 'the Campanians.' Weissenborn points out that the '*medix tuticus*' was not necessarily a Capuan, though Marius

Alfius and Marius Blossius (7. 8) happened to be; a Cneius Magius of Atella being mentioned in 24. 19. 2 as holding this office. **Chap. 35.**

§ 15. *Triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas* is not very consistent with the context.

*ita ut . . . . compleretur*, 'but had to be finished before midnight.'

§ 16. *Huic Gracchus*, &c. 'This (viz. midnight) was the time that Gracchus determined to seize.'

*ad portas*. Of his camp.

*a decima diei hora*. From about three o'clock in the afternoon.

§ 17. *vigilia prima*. The night was divided into four watches, which at this time of year (March or April) would be about three hours each.

§ 18. *ut in pervigilio*, 'as might be expected during a night-festival.'

§ 19. *capti*. After this word something—probably the number of the captives—has fallen out of the text.

§ 1. *ab Hannibale metuens*, cf. '*metus a praetore Romano*' **Chap. 36.**

*in Tifatis*, 'on Mount Tifata.'

§ 4. *sociorum*, 'of his allies,' i.e. the Capuans.

§ 5. *Auctores erant quidam*. 'Some people advised him.'

§ 6. *nihil secum*, &c. Consequently no provisions and no siege train ('*apparatus oppugnandae urbis*,' § 7).

§ 7. *quum Gracchus*. 'Gracchus having halted there, not from any confidence in his troops, but because he was ashamed to desert at such a crisis allies that besought his and his country's protection.'

§ 10. *expiantique ea*, &c. 'and when he tried to expiate them, the soothsayers reported that there was a difficulty in making acceptable sacrifice.'

§ 2. *ligneam ingentem*, i.e. 'turrem.'

*quia*, explains '*altiozem*.'

*per se*, i.e. without having a tower on it.

*subiectis validis sublicis*, 'having put strong piles under the tower' (i.e. on the wall).

§ 6. *Ad mille trecenti*. 'Ad' is here used as if it were an adverb. *ex improvise oppressi fuerant*, 'had been surprised.'

§ 8. *laetum secunda re consulem*, &c., like Sempronius Longus and Minucius.

§ 10. *Ti. Sempronius*, cui Longo cognomen erat, the consul of 218 B.C.

§ 1. *prope omnem Italiae oram*. This is governed by 'circum- **Chap. 38.**

**Chap. 38.** vectae' and qualified by 'ab supero mari ad inferum.' The ships had sailed from somewhere in Calabria, perhaps Tarentum, and had coasted along all the lower part of Italy.

§ 2. *ex classe sua*. This has not been mentioned before. We gradually learn from Livy's hints how carefully the coasts of Italy were guarded.

§ 6. *ex templo agitaretur*, 'the question was immediately discussed.' *ultro*. This is a capital instance of the use of the word.

§ 7. *ad*, 'to reinforce.'

§ 8. *triginta naves*, 'the thirty ships.'

§ 9. *militibus Varronianis*. The 'Terentianum exercitum' of 32. 16.

§ 12. *Pecunia*, apparently repayment for the loan mentioned in 21. 5.

§ 13. *centum*, i.e. 'millia modium (modiorum).'

**Chap. 39.** § 1. *captiva navis una ex iis*. The words would naturally mean 'one captive ship of those which were sent to Rome.' Unless Livy has got very much confused between his authorities, this meaning is inadmissible. The ships that were sent to Rome were Roman and not captive ships (34. 9). So we must suppose that the one captive Macedonian ship was sent with the five Roman ships to Rome, and escaped on the way back. We must translate, therefore, 'the one captive ship escaped from the middle of those which had been sent to Rome.' The passage is at best unsatisfactory.

§ 4. *tantum navis una*, &c. 'so greatly did the capture of this one ship with the envoys on board contribute to delay the war . . .'

§ 6. *Trebulam*. This is perhaps the same as the Trebia of 14. 13. The position of the other places mentioned here is not accurately known. Campani, Capuans.

§ 8. *inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis*, &c. Apparently Fabius was already between Capua and Nola, so that this movement is inexplicable.

*M. Marcellum propraetorem*. Yet he was made proconsul according to 30. 19. He is called propraetor in 42. 10, and praetor in 43. 12; but both passages are contemptuous in tone. Notice, however, that the consul lawfully exacts obedience from the proconsul. See 48. 2, and 22. 40. 6.

**Chap. 40.** § 1. *per T. Manlium praetorem*, i. e. propraetorem. See note on 34. 14.

§ 2. *navalibusque sociis*, 'his sailors.'

§ 3. *Pellitos Sardos*. The highlanders, so called from their dress.

§ 5. *alius exercitus*, 'the rest of the army.'

§ 6. *debellatumque . . . esset*. Impersonal.

in tempore ad spem rebellandi, 'at the right moment to encourage a renewal of the war.' **Chap. 40.**

§ 7. *ea occasio*, &c. 'thus an opportunity was given.'

§ 10. *Sardis facile vinci assuetis*, lit. 'the Sardinians being accustomed to be easily conquered.' We are to infer that they were easily conquered on this particular occasion. Translate, 'while the natives, as usual, made but a short resistance.'

§ 4. *ut super afflictas res*, &c. 'hearing in the midst of his despair about his cause, the news of his son's death.' **Chap. 41.**

§ 5. *recepit* need mean no more than 'took,' for cf. '*Capua recepta*' (14. 5) and '*recipiendae Nolae*' (44. 3).

§ 6. *pro cuiusque aut viribus aut delicto*, i.e. the requisition varied as the wealth and guilt jointly.

§ 7. *stipendium quaestoribus*, &c. Because the quaestors had charge of the treasury, and the aediles of the distribution of corn, while Fulvius was the highest magistrate and the only military magistrate at Rome.

§ 8. *praetor*. He was 'propraetor.' Cf. 40. 1.

§ 9. *septem inde naves*, &c. 'captured seven of the enemy's (inde) ships with their crews.'

§ 10. *Bomilcar*. In chap. 32 we were told that Mago, Hannibal's brother, who was to have brought troops to Italy, went eventually to Spain.

§ 11. *provinciae*. Sicily, of which he was praetor. *suo*, 'favourable.'

§ 12. *inde*, i. e. from Locri.

*magno conatu nulla re gesta*, 'having taken all his trouble for nothing.'

§ 14. *Samnio*. Dative. 'It stands for Samnitibus (Fabri).'

§ 2. *Hostes . . . fuimus*. 'We showed ourselves enemies.'

§ 3. *prope*, not 'almost,' but 'about.' The exact number of years was fifty-four, for the Samnites finally submitted to Rome in B.C. 272. **Chap. 42.**

§ 4. *Tua nos non magis virtus*, &c. The whole sentence is a condensed and illogical way of saying '*Tua virtus fortunaque (quae non magis nos, quam unica comitas . . . conciliavit tibi) effecit ut te . . . amico . . . non . . . timeremus.*'

§ 5. *aliquoties*, 'several times.'

*te, ad unum modo*, &c. 'that you (like a bee) can only inflict one wound, and have lost your sting and your vigour.'

§ 6. *Per annos centum*, an exaggeration. The war lasted from B.C. 343-272. There is the same exaggeration in 5. 8.

§ 7. *duos consules*. Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius

**Chap. 42.** Albinus, who were conquered at the Caudine Forks, B.C. 321. Notice the two constructions with 'gloriabor,' the ablative and the accusative and infinitive.

§ 9. *bini consules*, 'two consuls every year.'

*ante explorato*, 'after previous reconnoitring.'

§ 10. *propraetoris unius*. See on 39. 8.

*ne manipulatim*, &c. 'so far from taking proper military precautions, they do not even keep to their maniples, but move in a disorderly manner like brigands.'

*percursant*. Intransitive.

§ 12. *Nec te nec*, &c. 'I should know nothing of you and your army, if I did not believe,' &c.

*quamvis vana* gives a crowning-point to this highly-wrought speech. The Samnites say that they are now so thoroughly plundered that there is no more booty to take.

§ 13. *illi quidem*. *They*, however, can be spoiled, though we cannot.

*praesidiumque miseris*, 'and you will thus send us defenders and at the same time deprive Nola of hers' (i. e. by crushing Marcellus).

**Chap. 43.** § 2. *Indicandum autem primum*. 'The facts ought first to have been stated.'

§ 3. *proxima*, i. e. to the territory of the Samnites and Hirpini.

*sociorum populi Romani*, 'which belonged to the allies of Rome.'

§ 6. *Eodem*. 'To the same place.'

*haud procul*, from Nola.

§ 7. *commissum*. Impersonal.

*tuto receptu*, 'with a secure base of operations.'

§ 9. *Ex his* depends, not of course on 'Hanno,' but on 'Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium.'

§ 10. *obterit*, 'he disparages.' Cf. the like use of 'premere' in 22. 12. 12.

§ 11. *Quae*. Hannibal's power and Rome's.

*etiam in captivos omnes Italici nominis*, i. e. even to the Latins.

§ 13. *capta an*, &c. 'whether he (Hannibal) got possession of Nola by capture or capitulation.'

*ut*, simply 'as.'

*Nuceriae*. For the fate of this town, see chap. 15.

§ 14. *Nolle ominari*, &c. 'He did not like to prophesy what would be the fate of the city if Hannibal had to storm it; he preferred to promise that if they would,' &c.

**Chap. 44.** § 1. *esse*. The present is here used of a state of things still continuing from a past time with 'multos annos iam,' which is equivalent



to 'iam pridem.' 'Il y a plusieurs années que nous sommes les amis des Romains.' **Chap. 44.**

*cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere*, 'and neither party had repented of it up to that day.'

*sero iam esse mutare* is explained in the next section.

§ 2. *An dedituris*, &c. 'If we had meant to surrender to Hannibal, ought we to have sent for a Roman garrison?'

§ 4. *instructa intra portam acie*. As he had done at the time of Hannibal's previous attack on Nola, related in chap. 16.

*concurso ad pugnantes facto*, i.e. the whole body of troops on both sides becoming engaged.

*memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset*, 'and would have been one of the most famous in history.'

§ 5. *prima eruptione percussi* belongs to 'haud plus quam triginta.' The numbers seem wrong, as the Carthaginians are not likely to have lost less than the Romans. See 45. 1.

§ 6. *tenuit*. Intransitive. The word is tautological with 'continens.'

*Tertio die*, 'On the *second* day after the battle.' Livy is writing according to the Roman inclusive method of counting.

§ 7. *detrectavit*, sc. 'pugnam.'

§ 8. *ex cohortibus*. As Hannibal had adopted the Roman drill the word is appropriate enough, though Livy often uses Roman terms when they are inapplicable.

§ 9. *in subsidiis*, 'in the reserves.'

§ 1. *ante diem tertium*, lit. 'the third (i.e. second) day before,' **Chap. 45.** 'two days ago.' The 'ante' is an adverb and does not govern 'diem tertium.' The really curious thing about the phrase is the use of 'diem tertium' instead of 'tres dies.' It would otherwise be exactly like 'ante paucos dies.'

*fugatis ... a Cumis*, by Sempronius. See chap. 37.

*pulsis ... ab Nola*. See chap. 16.

*milite alio*. See chap. 31. 3-5.

§ 5. *hosti* depends on 'exprobrando.'

§ 7. *Legatum*. Marcellus was not a 'legatus,' but had an independent command.

*legionis unius*. Marcellus had certainly two legions (see 31. 3), and probably the proper complement of allies.

*alae*, 'one contingent of allies.' (The allies were usually posted on the wings.)

§ 8. *qui ... C. Flaminio ... caput abstulit*? In 22. 6. 4 we were told that the Gaul who killed Flaminius (with a spear-thrust) was prevented from spoiling the body, and in 22. 7. 5 that after the

**Chap. 45.** battle Flaminius' body could not be found. So 'caput abstulit' is not very accurate.

§ 9. *an quid prodigii est aliud?* 'or has any other miracle happened?'

*Romam vos expugnatos, &c.* See 22. 51. 2-4.

§ 10. *campestrem urbem.* Whereas Rome was built on hills.

**Chap. 46.** § 2. *per clamorem favoris indicem,* 'by cheers which showed on which side their sympathies lay.'

§ 3. *etiam* goes with 'plebis,' and 'plebis' refers just as much to 'gaudio' as to 'gratulatione.' That these two words must be taken together is proved by their occurrence in the same connection in 47. 7 'cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor in castra redit.'

§ 4. *quattuor,* 'elephanti.'

§ 5. *tacitis,* 'granted by tacit agreement.'

*Vulcano votum,* 'as an offering to Vulcan.'

§ 6. *liberalioris militiae,* 'of better pay.'

§ 8. *cum quibus venerat copiis.* See 41. 10-12, and 43. 6.

§ 9. *in ea castra . . . quae super Suessulam erant,* i. e. Marcellus' old camp, into which Fabius had moved (39. 8).

§ 10. *nihil admodum,* 'nothing at all.'

§ 11. *equitatu plus poterant* is added as if it had been 'equitatum meliorem,' or as if 'pedite nihil valebant' had preceded.

§ 12. *indidem.* Of Capua.

*quum apud Romanos militaret,* i. e. before the defection of Capua.

§ 14. *opima spolia.* A most inaccurate expression. Livy himself (4. 20. 6) says, '*ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit.*' Festus says, '*Opima spolia dicuntur — quae dux p. R. duci hostium detraxit, quorum tanta raritas est, ut intra annos paulo . . . trina contigerint nomini Romano: una quae Romulus de Acrone, altera quae Cossus de Tolumnio, tertia quae M. Marcellus Iovi Feretrio de Viridomaro fixerant. M. Varro ait, opima spolia esse etiam si manipularis miles detraxerit, dummodo duci hostium.*' In no case could one 'manipularis miles' win the spolia opima from another. The M. Marcellus is the proconsul of whom we are reading, who, when consul, killed Viridomarus (Britomart), King of the Gaesatae, with his own hand at Clastidium (B.C. 222).

**Chap. 47.** § 1. *id modo . . . ut . . . percontaretur,* 'only long enough to ask.' *extra ordinem,* 'contrary to regulations.' Church and Brodribb.

§ 4. *Quum iam ante ferocibus dictis, &c.,* i. e. each man extolled his own valour in comparison with that of his enemy before beginning the combat.

infestis, &c. 'they spurred their horses to the attack.'

libero spatio explains how they were able 'inter se ludificari,' which does not mean 'to make a game of the business,' but simply 'to elude each other's attack.'

§ 6. *Minime, sis . . . cantherium in fossam.* 'By your leave, I will not throw my horse into a ditch.' Some word must be understood to govern the accusative 'cantherium,' and it seems simplest to understand 'deiciam.' 'Sis' is a colloquial contraction for 'si vis.' Taurea, on finding Claudius take him at his word, wishes to pretend that his proposal to fight on the road was a mere joke, being really rather afraid to come to close quarters with his adversary.

quae vox in rusticum, &c. 'a saying which subsequently passed into a country proverb.' Church and Brodribb suggest that it was already a proverb at the time when Taurea used it. In that case his joke consisted in a literal application of a saying generally used metaphorically.

§ 8. *quam vera sit, communis existimatio est.* Parenthetical, 'as to its truth, everyone is at liberty to form his own opinion.' Cf. 4. 20. 8 'Quis ea in re sit error, . . . existimatio communis omnibus est.'

per alteram, 'through the opposite gate.'

miraculo, 'at the exploit.'

§ 1. *in segetibus*, 'in the corn-fields.'

§ 2. *hiberna aedificavit.* 'In hiberna huts of turf or stone would be substituted for the open tents of the aestiva (hence *aedificare hiberna*).' Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of Antiquities.'

§ 3. *a Cumis.* He seems to have stayed there ever since the events related in chs. 36, 37.

*agri Sallentini.* The promontory of Sallentinum (also called Iapygium) was the most southerly point of Calabria.

§ 4. *gesta* stands for 'gesta esse.'

*sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimentaue et frumentum* is what was wanting to the soldiers. Rather more than this, in fact 'omnia,' was wanting to the sailors.

§ 5. *se aliquam rationem inituros*, 'they would adopt some plan.' Cf. 25. 6 'nec . . . inibatur ratio.'

*quomodo.* We should expect 'qua,' as the antecedent is 'rationem.'

• *aut exercitum aut provinciam teneri posse.* 'Teneri' must be taken in a different sense with its different objects. 'Could the army be maintained or the province held.'

§ 7. *Siciliam ac Sardiniam*, &c. 'that Sicily and Sardinia, provinces which before the war had been sources of revenue, could now

**Chap. 48.** hardly support the armies that guarded them; thus the expenditure was maintained by the property tax (on Roman citizens) alone.'

§ 8. *stipendio*, here 'taxation.'

*alia . . . peste*, i. e. 'want.'

§ 9. *fide*, 'its credit.' The whole sentence is illogically condensed for 'Itaque quoniam opibus non statura esset, nisi fide staret res publica, nullo modo staturam.'

§ 10. *Prodeundum in contionem*, &c. 'Fulvius, the praetor (urbanus) must call a public meeting' (lit. 'must appear before a public meeting'). Fulvius is often in Rome (41. 7) in spite of his military duties (32. 18; 34. 13). It has already been mentioned that the 'praetor urbanus' might not be absent from Rome for more than ten days at a time.

*qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia*, &c. '(and must exhort) those who had increased their fortunes by state-contracts to trust the country to which they owed their prosperity.' By '*qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia*' the 'publicani' are meant, rich men who formed companies (societates) to farm the public revenues. The agents of these 'publicani' who collected the taxes for them are the 'publicans' (τελωνῆναι) of the New Testament. The 'publicani' are now called upon, in consideration of the money that they have made out of the state, to make a contract to supply the troops in Spain with stores, and not to require payment until such time as the state shall have recovered from its financial difficulties.

*tempus commodarent*, lit. 'should give time (to the state),' i. e. should let the payment stand over.

*conducerentque*, &c. 'and should undertake to supply all that was necessary for the army in Spain, on the condition that,' &c.

§ 12. *praebenda . . . locaturus*. Notice that the person who asks for tenders to be offered is said '*locare aliquid faciendum*,' while the contractor is said '*conducere aliquid faciendum*.'

**Chap. 49.** § 1. *hominum undeviginti*, 'of nineteen men each.'

§ 2. *dum in eo publico essent*, 'while they were engaged in that state service.'

*ab hostium tempestatisque vi*, &c., lit. 'should be in danger to the nation from injury done by the enemy or . . . 'Publico' (adjective) is the emphatic word, and it is meant that the state was to bear all the risk of the transport.

§ 3. *Ii mores*, &c. 'Such was the character and such the patriotism which animated every class of men with, it seemed, the same enthusiasm.'

§ 4. *Quemadmodum*, &c. 'The contract was as conscientiously performed, as it had been generously undertaken.' *omnia* means all the supplies that the 'publicani' undertook to furnish.

§ 5. **Iliturgi.** On the Baetis (Guadalquivir) in the neighbourhood of Castulo.

§ 6. **trina.** This form of the distributive is more usual than 'terni,' with 'plural substantives which denote a compound object.'

§ 7. **pro se,** 'for them.' 'Se' refers to the subject of 'vidissent.'

§ 8. **duo,** 'the other two.'

**eruptione.** We should have expected 'eruptione facta,' but Livy is fond of using single ablatives in this manner. See Excursus, p. xxi.

§ 9. **a Romanis,** 'on the Roman side.'

§ 10. **quam ipsi erant,** i.e. than the whole Roman army.

§ 11. **amplius.** Notice that (as has been already pointed out) this word and 'plus' are used without altering the grammar of the words with which they are to be taken.

§ 12. **Intibili.** The word, like Iliturgi, is neuter and indeclinable. (Cf. 'ad oppidum Iliberri,' 21. 24. 1). This can hardly be the Intibili on the coast, south of the mouth of the Ebro, but it is probably a place in the neighbourhood of Iliturgi.

**ut quae maxime omnium, belli avida,** 'that was as eager as possible (lit. as the province which is most so of all) for war.' Cf. 5. 25. 9 'Grata ea res ut quae maxime senatui unquam fuit.' Cicero uses '*quam* qui maxime' in the same sense. 'Tam enim sum amicus rei publicae quam qui maxime' (ad Fam. 5. 2).

**modo,** 'if only.'

§ 13. **eadem fortuna utriusque partis.** This, if 'utriusque partis' be not redundant, must mean that, as before, the Carthaginian losses were heavy and the Roman losses slight.

THE END.

